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The Pan-Pacific and South East Asia Women's Association (PPSEAWA) on the Mainland

In the winter 1976 edition of The Pacific Historian, Paul F. Hooper traced the establishment and early days of the Pan-Pacific Women's Association (its original name). The impetus came from a group of men and women in Hawaii during the twenties who reached across the ocean to women in the South Pacific, particularly Australia, New Zealand and Eastern Asia (chapters were soon formed in these areas).

From these earliest beginnings women from the mainland were involved. Jane Addams attended the first conference, 1928, as honorary chair person, and at subsequent conferences the continental United States and Canada were well represented. However, the formation of chapters in this part of the world was slow.

Stockton, California is in the unique position of having one of the three mainland chapters. In 1958, thru the good offices of Willowdean Handy of the Bishop Museum in Honolulu, Marion O. Pease and Lorraine Knoles were invited to join the Honolulu Chapter of PPSEAWA and to attend the International Conference in Tokyo as delegates. Imbued with enthusiasm for the organization, and with the encouragement of Ella P. Stewart (Toledo) and Dr. Persia Campbell and Mrs. Louise Backus of New York they established a Stockton chapter in 1961.

The founding of the United Nations, with headquarters in New York, spurred interested women, some of whom had participated actively in several of the international conferences, to organize a chapter in that city. This group soon became involved in working with the wives of delegates from member countries. Ambassador Ruth Farkas is president of the New York Area Chapter.

For a number of years the New York Chapter served as the overall PPSEAWA organization for the Continental United States. At the present time, PPSEAWA - USA Inc. carries that responsibility with headquarters at the Lotos Club, 5 E 66th St., New York, N.Y. 10021.

Toledo was organized next (1956) primarily by Ella P. Stewart who was serving as vice-president of both PPSEAWA - USA, Inc. and PPSEAWA International. They have been active over the years, with study groups, participating in the triennial international conferences, and in sending helpful materials such as books, yard goods and sewing supplies to chapters in the South Pacific Islands.

The mainland chapters have maintained close ties with PPSEAWA-USA and PPSEAWA International, and have taken responsibility at all levels of the organization. Currently the Stockton Chapter is well represented. Mrs. Cisco Kihara is president of PPSEAWA - USA and Miss Hortense Robertson is secretary and editor of the news letter. Miss Eva C. Dalander, president of the local chapter is a member of the Executive Board. Marion O. Pease is International Secretary.

All three chapters have had the responsibility and privilege from time to time of entertaining overseas members and setting up study and visitation programs for them.

PPSEAWA - USA and the three mainland chapters, (New York Area, Toledo and Stockton) are fully cognizant of the major objectives of the organization, and each group, in its way, works steadily and consistently toward achieving them.

Marion Pease

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California's Experience With The Automobile
(Formerly Horseless Carriage)
And What It Led To

EUGENE W. MCGEORGE

In the late 1890's, a few wealthy California sports enthusiasts and backyard mechanics derived pleasure from "horseless carriages" and "machines" (hereafter called AUTOS) but significant use of autos dates only from 1900. The Automobile Club of America was incorporated in New York City in 1899 and sponsored the first auto show in America in 1900 in the old Madison Square Garden. Afterward, this Club built a sumptuous seven story clubhouse, complete with grill room and garage on West 54th Street near todays Museum of Modern Art.[1]

In August 1901, a group of San Francisco auto aficionados held the first official meeting of the Automobile Club of California. Its activities were so popular that it prospered and became the California State Automobile Association in 1907.

Auto manufacturing was small business in 1900. Fifty-seven U.S. firms manufactured autos in that year, including Oldsmobile, the only brand still sold today. 2,241 workers were employed by these fifty-seven firms, and the average wage per worker was $49.08 per month. The total value of all autos produced was $4,748,000, amounting to a gross annual income of $83,300 for each of the 57 manufacturers.[2]

While the number of U.S. cars produced in 1900 was not given, one yardstick of the value of autos can be found in early statistics on foreign makes imported into the United States. In 1902, Americans spent $3,582,000 on 265 European built autos - an average of $13,510 per auto. About $9000 of this purchased the auto, while Uncle Sam collected most of the other $4500 in import duty, although the $4500 also included the cost of freight.[3]

One of these foreign cars to find U.S. favor was the PEUGEOT, which had produced 92 autos in 1896. One of these 1896 models became the first auto of a British agent who sold French autos, Mr. Charles S. Rolls. This was eight years before he met his future auto manufacturing partner, Mr. Henry Royce.[4]

The first American built car sold was a $1000 one cylinder

Winton, bought in 1898 by a man in Pennsylvania. One of the other 20 Wintons sold in 1898 went to Josiah Stanford, a San Francisco capitalist.[5]

Despite the modest start by U.S. auto producers, demand for American autos was to grow in California in the early 1900's.

John P. Young, in his "San Francisco, the Pacific Metropolis," explained one of the reasons, as follows:

"Notwithstanding the reputation bestowed upon San Francisco as a place in which expensive habits had been developed, the number of people who maintained carriages in the City was comparatively small. Men in particular refrained from their use except for utilitarian purposes. There were some who owned good horses and fine equipages, but they scarcely thought of using them to drive to and from their places of business. In short, 'Keeping your own carriage' in San Francisco - up to about 1902 - had a significance, and implied something wholly different from the statement ('Jones has an automobile,'). Keeping a carriage and using it conferred something like social distinction before 1902, which the advent of the horseless wagon completely removed."[6]

It was to be sometime, however, before the majority of people could own autos. The bicycle was said to be the "horse of the working man," and families within walking distance of streetcar service (Sacramento, Stockton, Marysville/Yuba City, Grass Valley/Nevada City all had streetcars) could get to parks or open space at the town's edge for their picnics and outings. Average wages in 1902 for city laborers of $2.00 per day, with $3.00 per day for mechanics, left no budget room for autos. Farm laborers were no better off, although sometimes they received board and lodging in addition to wages.[7]

Even a well-to-do Sacramento banker (Mr. C. M. Goethe) used streetcars to get to the first golf course in Sacramento - which he founded in Oak Park - just to the east of University of the Pacific's McGeorge School of Law and McClatchy Park.

After 1900, the realization that expensive European autos were finding eager U.S. buyers caused a rush of new entries into U.S. auto manufacture. Henry Ford had been building autos for ten years but did not organize the Ford Motor Company for commercial production and sale of autos until 1903, the same year that Cadillac started. Except for Oldsmobile, the names of other U.S. auto makers before 1903 are relatively unknown today except to car buffs and Reno visitors to Harrah's Auto Museum. These included Jeffrey, Duryea, Stanley Steamer and Winton. The large powerful, impressive Winton was made famous by Barney Oldfield

in races and was used by such well-known Californians as Phoebe Apperson Hearst, W. P. Fuller, and Templeton Crocker.

In 1903, when the majority of Americans seemed to doubt that the auto would ever replace the horse, San Francisco's City Engineer, Mr. C. E. Grunsky, made a remarkable prediction in his yearly report to the Board of Public Works. It prophesied modestly:

"It may be suggested that before many years, horses for use in the transport and delivery of goods may be almost entirely replaced by automobiles . . . and when such . . . has become general, the wear of pavements will be greatly reduced and the territory in which bituminous rock or asphalt pavements can be used to advantage will be extended throughout most of the business section of the city."

This hopeful wish for the future should be considered in the realities of 1903 when only 85 miles of San Francisco streets were paved with bituminous rock - while 113 miles (or 58% of total streets) were paved with basalt blocks and cobble stones. These latter materials, when worn and uneven, caused rough rides and difficult, slow travel.[8]

From 1903 to 1907 the fledgling U.S. auto industry was to grow very slowly. In 1907, 47,302 pleasure gasoline autos were manufactured by 265 firms and their total value was $96,170,000 or a little over $2,000 per auto.[9] There were only 80,000 autos in use in the U.S. in 1907 as compared with the 140,000 total for Great Britain, France and Germany.[10] New mass production techniques - soon to be pioneered by Henry Ford - were needed to get autos within the affordable reach of more Americans. The brilliant engineering work on Cadillac in 1907 by Henry Leland - who was later to originate the superlative Lincoln car - was to be widely imitated and lead to future auto smoothness, power and dependability.

Although steam and electric autos had outsold those with gasoline engines six to one in the 1900 New York Auto Show, such material improvements in gasoline autos now quickly overcame their steam and electric competitors. The ratio of gasoline autos to steam and electric autos in 1907 reversed to nine to one, in favor of gasoline autos.[11]

By late 1903, Californians had their choice at the garages of San Francisco Agents of Oldsmobile, Cadillac, Ford, Packard, Peerless, Toledo and the redoubtable Winton autos. Driving lessons were furnished with the autos, and licensing was subject only to mild local ordinances. State of California control of drivers was not to

commence until 1905, after some county assessors began to increase their county revenues by taxing autos.

Belying the ease with which one could try to start driving an auto, motoring in 1903 was very challenging. Drivers had to be hardy to withstand the elements in open cars without tops or windshields (still things of the future) and physically robust enough to crank their gasoline engined autos to start them. Female drivers found electric cars preferable - no need to crank to start them. Mechanical ingenuity was also required to cope with the idiosyncracies of gasoline autos - with their breakdowns and sometime tire failures. When cranking early autos, two vital safety precautions had to be followed. First, one had to be sure the auto was not in gear, to avoid being run over if the person cranking succeeded in starting the engine.

Second, the cranker had to grasp the crank handle with the palm of the hand - and *not* between the thumb and fingers - since a kick-back of the engine could reverse the crank with such violent force as to catch the thumb and break a wrist or arm. It often did this to the unwary.

Carburetors and ignition systems also demanded much attention, particularly in cold or wet weather - to avoid much ineffective arm effort in "spinning" the crank to start the engine.

Nerves of steel were also needed, especially in driving gasoline autos of low power and uncertain behavior up hills with sometime temperamental brakes. One could not afford to risk a stall on a steep slope - self starters to get the engine going again were not to appear for nine years in the future.

Starting on a trip, let's imagine that fortune smiled and one's gasoline engined auto started with no difficulty. Alas, coming events on the road could force owners into emergency tire or engine repairs to avoid walking home, if far from the very few garages of the day. There were fouled spark plugs to clean, erratic carburetors to adjust for proper gasoline mixture, and most mysterious of all, the crochety timers and coils in the primitive electrical systems. The most familiar tool of the day was the aptly named - and often sworn at - "monkey wrench" which allowed tinkering and monkeying to the point where often a skilled mechanic was required to undo ill-advised owner "repair work" such as cross threaded spark plugs.

A simpler way to motor in 1903 was in an electric auto - dependable within the 50 or 60 miles it could travel on a single charge of its batteries. Push the bar for power, guide the steering tiller, and push the brakes to stop was all the driving it took.

Steam autos were most complicated and demanded considerable expertise. First, ignite the oil burner and wait for the water to heat to build up boiler steam - perhaps up to ten minutes. Then, whoosh away nearly silently, ignoring the wide-spread early belief that a boiler explosion could occur, carrying one to a sudden demise.

Even though no cranking was necessary, no gear shifting, and drivers did not have to cope with temperamental carburetors or electrical systems, steam cars were not perfect.

The *Sacramento Union* reported in 1903 that "three steam powered hard rubber tire wagons" - each holding up to a dozen baseball players - paraded to the ball park for Sacramento's first Pacific Coast League baseball game. Although the route from 10th and K Streets - a block from the Capitol - to the Oak Park baseball grounds was not quite four miles, two of the steamers broke down enroute and had to be towed. [12]

The last of the luxury steam cars disappeared in the 1920's - the Doble - made in Emeryville by Abner Doble, a cousin of Sacramento's one time mayor, Miss Belle Cooledge. Fast, dependable and smooth, but costing over $10,000, it just couldn't compete with gasoline engined cars costing half that, such as Lincoln, Packard, Pierce-Arrow and Cadillac. These offered smooth power, comfortable rides, speeds higher than most roads would permit - completely taking over the luxury market, just as Henry Ford had done earlier with small cars.

1904 gasoline autos were noisy, smokey, and a harbinger of smog problems in the future. In 1904, San Francisco's Palace Hotel prohibited autos from driving into its famous inner court, into which horses and carriages had been permitted for many years. Ironic it was that horse pollution could be coped with for nearly 30 years but that auto noise and fumes were too much for the Palace luxury image. In 1904 the inner court was converted into a quarter of an acre lounging room with handsome furniture, rugs and tropical plants. [13]

Despite all the difficulties which could be encountered with 1903 gasoline autos, pioneer motorists went to amazing lengths to conquer them. Examples are to be found in two trips made from the Pacific Ocean to the Atlantic Coast in 1903. The first transcontinental journey was made in 1903 by Dr. H. Nelson Jackson in his two cylinder Winton.

Just how difficult a transcontinental trip could be can be learned from the description of Messrs. M. C. Krarup and E. T. Fetch, who left San Francisco on June 20, 1903 and arrived in New York

City 60 days later in a 12 horsepower auto, which like Dr. Jackson's had no top or windshield. The first part of this trip was described as a "pleasant procession over the old stage road of the forty-niners" (the Placerville Road). However, they soon faced reality - how to get over the sand "roads" in parts of Nevada. These were traversed with the help of two strips of heavy canvas which they brought - each 24 feet long and 6 feet wide. Considerable muscle and patience must have been needed in repeatedly laying down the two strips ahead of the front wheels, pushing the auto until the rear drive wheels were on the canvas, driving ahead until off the canvas, and picking up and laying down time after time. For those people without the foresight to bring canvas, their autos drive wheels would spin around ineffectively in the loose sand as if it were the slipperiest mud. Any such conquest of the sand amazed - and perhaps disappointed - the local citizens who stood by with teams of horses to assist - for pay.

Messrs. Krarup and Fetch also had to overcome the problems of the deep ruts which served as roads elsewhere in Nevada, and the sage brush which grew on the ridge between the ruts. These ruts could be so deep in places as to hang up the auto's undercarriage on the sage brush with the wheels no longer reaching the traction surface in the ruts, thus stopping the auto. Since there were no 3-A tow trucks in 1903, much lifting to free the auto was necessary. To avoid constant repetition of this hazard, much ingenuity was required to drive with the left wheels on top of the center ridge while keeping the right wheels outside, and clear of, the right rut.[14]

By 1904, things became a little better when Mr. L. L. Whitman drove his auto from San Francisco to New York in 33 days, averaging 135 miles per day. This led to enthusiastic comments in "World's Work" magazine.

"Such a performance shows that the mechanism of good cars has passed the experimental stage. Every year we may expect safer, more trustworthy, simpler and cheaper machines, until one shall cost less than a horse and wagon and may run with safety by any man or woman of usual care."[15]

Typical owners of early autos, other than sports enthusiasts and the well-to-do, were those individuals who could justify their high cost by using them in their businesses or professions. Merchants, real estate agents, contractors, physicians and morticians were frequent users.

Physicians probably did as much as any of these groups to attest to the utility of autos and increase their popularity. Dr. E. Gary

Wilcox of Stockton, for instance, drove his Rambler more than 5000 miles in California before 1904.[16]

Prior to the availability of autos, before a doctor could go on his house calls (remember them?) he had to harness his horse to the buggy. On cold and stormy nights, he also had to blanket the horse before going in to see a patient. These were minor duties, however, compared with the necessary care of the horse upon returning home. Unless the doctor could afford a hired man, he had to rub down and blanket the horse, then wash out the horse's feet and remove any glass, rocks or nails, examining them also for loose shoes. After this, the horse had to be fed before the doctor could go on to other things.

With an auto instead, a doctor could make more calls in less time, and there was no worry on long duration maternity cases about leaving the horse out in heat or cold, rain or snow, or about feeding and watering the horse. Further, the auto could be used for pleasure or social visits at the end of the day - something not possible with a horse tired after a day's work. One doctor estimated that while his electric auto cost him $400 per year more than his previous $1000 annual expense for the stalling and feeding of two horses, the advantages of the auto were well worth the extra cost.[17]

In order to operate an auto in 1903, one had only to meet the requirements of local ordinances. These usually dealt with speed restrictions and with the right of way of the more numerous horse drawn vehicles, as horses were easily frightened by the unfamiliar, noisy autos.

With the steady growth in use of autos, it was inevitable that California's legislature would enact regulations.

In March, 1905, a statute provided that every person acquiring a motor vehicle must be licensed by filing the following in the office of the California Secretary of State:

"Name and address of the owner, brief description of the vehicle including the name of maker, factory number, style of vehicle and motor power." Filing fee was $2.00 per vehicle, which was destined to escalate in future years.

Each auto owner then received a two inch circular aluminum seal bearing the words "Registered Motor Vehicle #_____, State of California" to be affixed to the vehicle. The owner then had to provide his own license plate for the display of his registered number on the rear of the vehicle. The statute specified that the plate must have "Arabic numerals - black on white background - each not less than three inches in height and one half inch wide -

and the letters CALIF one inch in height." No vehicle was to be operated in the state without the seal.[18]

An appropriation of $20,000 for two fiscal years was granted the Secretary of State to employ clerks, produce forms and seals, and provide badges for chauffeurs (any persons operating a motor vehicle as mechanic, employee, or for hire). An additional statute in 1907 specifically authorized "The Secretary of State to appoint a Chief Clerk and Cashier of the Motor Vehicle Department in the office of the Secretary of State, and one other clerk." These two individuals received annual salaries of $2400 and $1600 respectively.[19]

Each vehicle registration from 1905 to 1909 (now preserved in Sacramento's State Archives) was recorded in ink, in a fine Spencerian hand - in order of date and application - in two large bound books. Applicant Number one was John D. Spreckels of the Oceanic Steamship Company, 327 Market Street, San Francisco, on May 1, 1905. By June 1, 1905, 1,418 licenses had been issued - some to famous California names such as Roos, Breed, Buckbee, Flood, Bowles, Fageol, McNear and Phelan.

Vehicle registration continued at about the same pace for the next several years - an average of 2,450 autos licensed per year. The hand-written book records ended in February 1909 with a total of 10,020 licenses issued. It is impossible to estimate how many autos were actually in use in 1909 since some that were licensed were undoubtedly wrecked or worn out, and some on-farm autos probably did not apply for license.[20]

The California Legislature also established the first state-wide speed limits in 1905, with a provision that local authorities could establish differing limits within their jurisdictions - such differing speed limits to be posted. Specifically the overall state limits provided that:

"No person shall operate a motor vehicle at a rate of speed greater than is reasonable and proper, having regard to the traffic and use of the highway, or so as to endanger the life or limb of any person or the safety of any property. Or in any event, on any public highway where the territory contiguous thereto is closely built up, at a greater rate than one mile in six minutes; or elsewhere, in any incorporated city and county, city or town at a greater rate than one mile in four minutes; or elsewhere, outside of any incorporated city and county, city or town at a rate greater than one mile in three minutes, *subject to other provisions of this act.* (Author's italics for emphasis).

This fine print in the statute - the "other provisions" - would

often trap the unwary. These included limits of four miles per hour when approaching a bridge, dam, sharp curves or steep descent, and "When a person riding, leading or driving a restive horse or draft animal signals by putting up his hand, the driver of an auto must bring his vehicle to a stop, and if traveling in the opposite direction, use reasonable caution thereafter passing such horse or animal."[21]

Penalties for any violations of this act were "For a first offense - not exceeding $100; 2nd offense - not less than $50 or more than $100, or imprisonment not exceeding 30 days, or both; 3rd and subsequent offenses - not less than $100 nor more than $250 *and* imprisonment not exceeding 30 days."[22]

1905's maximum State speed limit of 20 miles per hour (scaled down to four miles per hour under the conditions prescribed) seems slow in the 1977, but was not too far out of line with the comfortable capability of many 1905 and earlier autos on the many twisting, up and down, rough road surfaces available then.

Despite the legislatures' early concern with speed limits, other safety measures lagged. Sacramento's Automobile Dealer Association was lobbying in 1912 for a state law requiring all vehicles to have headlights at night, for instance.

The 20 mile per hour maximum limit must have seemed slow to persons on El Camino Real whose autos had participated in track races at Hotel Del Monte, where winning speeds in 1903 were close to 55 miles per hour. Any person using local roads for racing purposes often found the constabulary happy to accept financial contributions to the town via the justice court. Even though a constable on a bicycle or horse might not catch up with a speeder in the act, retribution could occur later in the form of a warrant based on the miscreant's license number.

The Del Monte track auto races in August, 1903 were attended by members of the Automobile Club of California, who left San Francisco on a Thursday to stay overnight in San Jose's famous Hotel Vendome. On Friday they drove over the steep and winding San Juan grade west of San Juan Bautista, reaching Del Monte that evening or early Saturday morning. A polo tournament, pony races and a tour of the 17 mile drive were among the weekend entertainment. On Monday, ten auto races were held for Club members, with the fastest mile traveled in one minute and sixteen seconds.[23]

By 1907 it was possible to drive an auto from San Francisco to Del Monte in a little over 8 hours. In that year Hotel Del Monte

was advertising special railroad rates for shipping motor cars by freight, and it took only four hours to come on the passenger train, which was well patronized by Del Monte regulars. This advertisement also described the attractions of "taking a spin over the oiled roads around Hotel Del Monte by the sea near old Monterey. The seventeen mile oiled roadway through the forests of pine and cypress, along the ocean shore, is but one of the many attractions which allure auto enthusiasts, and there is a new garage with every necessity and luxury."[24]

Improvements in autos were increasing the desire of new purchasers for them by 1906, but it took the lessons of the San Francisco Earthquake and Fire to dramatically display the growing utility and dependability of autos. In addition to the extensive damage to buildings and roadbeds east of Van Ness Avenue, street railways and telephones were all out of service. Private autos were commandeered for emergency service by police, fire fighters, dynamite demolition workers and military personnel. The fast transportation that autos provided - compared with the use of horses that would in any event have panicked at the fire - accomplished wonders in carrying food and water, rescuing the injured and communicating with written orders from command posts that coordinated all emergency efforts.[25]

Military authorities were impressed enough to overcome their usual conservatism and begin motorizing more military service vehicles. By 1917, Cadillac V-8 touring cars were used by the U.S. General Staff in France, and were so rugged that some of them were still in use in France - particularly for tourists sightseeing - in the 1920's[26]

Between 1906 and 1912 in San Francisco, hundreds of miles of streets were added to open new sections of the City, causing rising demand for extensions of streetcar service.

However, the attitude of the City authorities in dealing with the streetcar owners - the United Railroads - was of such a character that track extensions were made practically impossible. While eventually the City was to prevail and take over - step-by-step - the entire streetcar system, the limited service after 1906 was a great irritation to people who had made new homes in outlying sections and created much new demand for autos.[27] In 1916, San Francisco's streetcar track mileage was more than five years behind the needs of its population. Such a problem, multiplied by similar situations in many other communities, created a vast new market opportunity which Henry Ford and other auto makers rushed in to exploit.

Now that more autos were purchased and used, places for people to drive and roads for them to use became increasingly important. One early published map was extremely basic in showing towns and roads but included the words, "between Oakland, Lafayette, Concord and Antioch, follow telephone poles." Similar instructions were given for a further trip to Livermore, Mountain House and Byron Hot Springs, which featured "Hot Peat and Mud Baths" at the Springs. Directional signs were almost non-existent in the early 1900's, as were smooth, improved roads.

Sunday picnics and outings to the country rapidly became the thing to do for all those who could afford them. For the well-to-do, clothing that could repel dust in summer and rain and mud in winter became popular. Before 1907, as a 1905 prescribed clothing chart advises, no particular attention was given to men's wear for automobiles. This changed about 1907 as one writer for *Motor* magazine in 1907 advises:

"The all leather motoring costume is to the automobile outfit what the strictly tailormade is to the general wardrobe. . . . For long runs there is nothing that equals leather. Then, too, anything like a good leather garment is expensive and therefore has an element of exclusiveness. Of course the leather garment is for motoring alone and marks the possessor as the undoubted devotee of the sport, as no cloth or silk or fur garment ever does."[28]

Today one can only imagine the sometimes shrill and derisive put-downs uttered by the local loungers on the roadside porches in front of any country general store when a carload of city dudes attired in leather complete with goggles, gauntlets, caps and veils, arrived to wet their thirsty whistles with sarsaparilla or beer. Men and women from Mars could not have attracted more unwelcome attention. And if the departing city folk should have any difficulty in getting a hot motor started, the local's inevitable loud chorus would be "Get a horse."

Women's interest in autos of their own gradually increased as the autos improved. In 1907, the California Women's Automobile Club held its first meeting in San Francisco, and in 1908 the Club sponsored its first decorated auto parade at the time of the second annual auto show. First prize in the parade was won by Mrs. J. M. Etienne "in her pink and white covered White Steamer."[29]

Autos were not needed in the early 1900's to the 1920's, to get to shopping center complexes and supermarkets, because the latter did not exist. In one's own neighborhood, one could walk to small businesses in San Francisco, but stores with a wide selection of

goods and clothing were centered "downtown" north of Market Street and in the Mission District group of stores. Milady with the means to afford it could go shopping downtown from store to store by renting a two horse coupe or carriage, four passengers or less, for $2.00 the first hour and $1.50 for each subsequent hour. The United Carriage Company advertised these rates in the 1907 San Francisco Blue Book and called attention to their "elegant closed and open carriages, landaus, coupes, broughams, victorias, six-seaters, nine-seaters, wagonettes, surreys, breaks and traps. All of our regular carriages and coupes, broughams and victorias have rubber tires and all our horses are shod with rubber to prevent slipping in damp and foggy weather. Can furnish carriages or broughams with brakes for calling on hills, when specified. These improvements add much to comfort and safety."[30]

Shopping was even easier in cities smaller than San Francisco. The city of Sacramento's built-up section in the early 1900's was very compact, measuring only 31 blocks west to east (from the Sacramento River to a drainage slough) and 24 blocks north to south (from the Southern Pacific tracks paralleling the American River to another slough). Getting downtown to shop on streetcars was so inexpensive and quick as to make use of an auto for shopping unnecessary. Groups of small merchants also clustered a few blocks apart to supply daily needs of many neighborhoods. One of these in Sacramento was at 28th and J Streets, 21 blocks from the main business section of the city. Stores here sold groceries, meat, drugs, baked goods, hardware, auto supplies, tires and gasoline, and a "notions" store selling sewing supplies. A telephone call request to any one of these would cause them to "put up an order" which a small boy could pick up, and if it were bulky, load them in his coaster wagon for the haul home. If all the groceries would not fit in the wagon, humorous store clerks were sometimes moved to send a small boy home with some of the bulky overflow - four rolls of toilet paper - strung around the naive young victim's neck as a necklace.

As Sacramento grew east and south - to East Lawn, Curtis Oaks and Oak Park - the distance downtown doubled, and with new zoning there were to be fewer clusters of shops to serve some neighborhood's walking distant shopping. With the simultaneous rapid improvement in the quality, utility and dependability of autos, the reasons for owning them increased apace.

Much the same growth pattern occured in Stockton. In 1902, C. M. Weber and Co. offered "tracts from 5 acres upward only 5 miles out of town - choicest garden sediment bottom land ever

offered."[31] While some buyers of farm tracts at $30 to $100 per acre made capital gains as Stockton spread out, profit from resale was not a prime motive in 1902. Rather, most buyers' interests were in good crops and getting them to market. This depended on usable roads, which were then solely under the jurisdiction of local authorities. There were very few good roads in California in 1902 because there were just too few people to pay for them. The 1900 Census lists population of the five counties of San Francisco, Alameda, Santa Clara, Sacramento and Los Angeles at a total of 749,000 people.[32] This comprised 51% of all the people in California. The other 49% of the people resided in the 45 counties which occupied 95% of the State's total land area - and averaged only five persons to each square mile of these 45 counties. This was a meager tax base potential from which to improve roads at the local level.[33]

It is no wonder that California's roads outside of cities were often little more than wagon wheel ruts, dusty in summer and muddy and sometimes impassable in winter. The feel of early day mountain roads can be experienced today by driving west from Highway 89 on the West Tahoe shore onto the rocky road to Rubicon Springs. A few miles of this is usually enough to satisfy anyone, and hiking is easier. Only those brave souls with four wheel drive vehicles should attempt the entire trip to Rubicon Springs.

California created its State Bureau of Highways in 1895 and acquired Lake Tahoe Wagon Road (Placerville to the Nevada State Line) from El Dorado County, which had purchased it in 1886 from toll road operators and builders. This was designated as the first state highway, and as late as 1907 was the only route passable for autos crossing the Sierra. To the north Donner Summit could be reached by railroad only.[33]

There had been a Dutch Flat to Donner Lake wagon road in the late 1800's but since it was parallel to the tracks of the Central Pacific Railroad, there was little need to maintain it. Not until 1909 were state funds made available to construct a highway over the Donner Summit. The State Engineer, on taking over the job, reported that you could scarcely call the right of way a road, since it was in such abominable condition.

In the 1907-1908 budget for the Lake Tahoe Wagon Road, only $9,227 was spent for maintenance and $4,444 for surveys and bridges.[34] In the light of today's costs, it is amazing how this only Trans-Sierra route east in Northern California could be maintained on so little money.

Most of this money had to be spent in the spring, in clearing up debris left by winter storms and in re-building culverts, rubble retaining walls and bridges. Thus, little money was left for the building of adequate road bases and satisfactory surfacing. This road to Tahoe followed all the natural land contours along and above the American River - in and out around hillsides to the points where creek crossings were narrowest - with many sharp curves, hairpin bends, and steep grades over hills too steep and wide to cut through.

With many more autos being purchased and more widely used, growing public sentiment for good roads resulted in legislation providing for an $18 million bond issue (the first ever) to begin construction of a projected California Highway System. This was submitted to a vote of the people and upon their approval became effective December 31, 1910.[35] This resulted in more route planning and refining of the roads needed (this process had started in 1895) and in the start of construction of the first real highway. It was a section five and one half miles long between South San Francisco and North Burlingame. Costing approximately $94,000 (only about $17,000 per mile - less than a 1976 Mercedes) this highway consisted of a five inch concrete base, 24 feet wide, overlaid with sheet asphalt.[36] It was completed in 1913, just ten years after the Automobile Club of California had resolved that "a boulevard should be built around the Bay from San Francisco to San Jose to Oakland."

That this new highway was regarded as a wonder in some quarters may be gathered from a 1913 press report:

"Skating rinks in San Mateo County are doomed to a natural death, judging from the avidity with which young folk of the Peninsula towns have taken up the fad of utilizing the new State Highway for roller recreation. Moonlight skating parties are quite the common thing on the new smooth surface of El Camino Real. A party of young people from South San Francisco skated six miles to Easton (now North Burlingame) one evening, built a big bonfire and served coffee and cake."[37]

In 1913 the state legislature provided for equal division of the new revenue from motor vehicle registration fees between the state and counties, based on the number of vehicles in each county. This new money for improved roads was especially welcome news to Sacramento and San Joaquin Valley motorists, since the building of State Highways was just getting started and improved county roads were needed in the interim. In 1913, the trip from Sacramento to San Francisco covered 130 miles through the San

Joaquin Valley. This trip was to be reduced to 100 miles in 1915 when the Yolo Causeway was opened, permitting traffic year round above the Sacramento River by-pass and tules.

The 1913 motorist from Sacramento to the San Francisco Bay Area had his choice of two routes south on county roads - either the so-called upper road through Elk Grove, Galt and Lodi or the "lower road" through Franklin and Thornton to what is now Pacific Avenue, and on to El Dorado Street. From here the route was south to French Camp, southwest and west to Banta and Tracy - then over much the same route as today except for the extremely narrow and winding roads through the Altamont and Dublin passes.

An idea of the problems facing State Highway Engineers can be gotten from their bulletin of May 1, 1913:

"From Sacramento to Davis is 13.8 miles but the cost of bridging the great Yolo Basin, which receives the overflow from the Sacramento River (fed at flood stage by the Yuba, Bear and American Rivers) has hitherto held up construction of this important road . . . 12,000 feet of trestle will be required with much heavy grading and the distance to San Francisco from Sacramento will be reduced from 130 to 100 miles."[38]

The completion of this important short-cut in 1915 caused great celebration in Sacramento and signalled the accelerating road construction pace which was to come, fuelled by a second State Bond Issue of $15 million in 1915 and a third of $18 million in 1917. The Sacramento firm of contractors, A. Teichert and Son, were prominent in this, receiving in 1913 the third highway construction contract award by the State of California.[39]

Coincident with the rapid improvement in county roads and the expanded California State Highway construction, and similar activity in the rest of the United States, 1915 proved to be the watershed year for manufacture and sales of automobiles. Electric self starters, which had been provided on Cadillacs for three years, were now found on more automobiles, and Henry Ford introduced the industry's first moving auto assembly line. In 1916 the Westinghouse Electric Co. advertised a 12 volt starting and lighting system as an add-on accessory for Ford autos, something that Henry Ford would not get around to offering until 1920 for his factory made Fords. Westinghouse charged $85 for the starter and electric lights and claimed "The annoyance, labor and danger of cranking a Ford car are all removed by this system. Starts the car in any kind of weather at a touch. Makes it possible for wife or daughter to drive in comfort."[40] This was not the only accessory

offered for the popular Fords, another one being a set of glass panels which cost $75 and were attached to the regular Ford top, supposedly converting it to the comfort of a closed car.[41] Although Ford cars afforded only the most basic transportation in 1915, they were reliable and relatively inexpensive. The fact that Henry Ford was doing something very right can be seen from the facts that by May 1915 there were 700,000 Fords in use; in the next six months 200,000 more had been sold, and in December 1915 the one millionth Model T engine was produced - really remarkable for a model run of eight years. By November, 1915, the prices of Fords' open cars were reduced $50 to $390 for the two seater Runabout and $440 for the Touring car, F.O.B. Factory. 1915 Ford advertising was forthright:

"Especially resistant to shock, strain and vibrations, the Ford is the sturdiest, most durable car in the world. Vanadium steel, heat treated by the Ford process, accounts for the strength and light weight of the Ford car. Strong, light, simple and efficient, the Ford gives service and satisfaction to owners at an average cost of 2¢ per mile for operation and maintenance."

In 1915, 55% of the Fords were sold in small towns and country districts, and 45% in the bigger cities, but this balance was shifting due to the rapidly increasing city demand which helped to account for another 10 million Fords being sold by 1925. In 1925 the Ford Runabout was only $260 and the Touring Car $290 for essentially the same cars sold in 1915, with some improvement, particularly a lower body style. In 1925 an important difference was that for an additional $85 a purchaser could have an electric starter and demountable rims Ford factory installed - luxuries not available in 1915.[42]

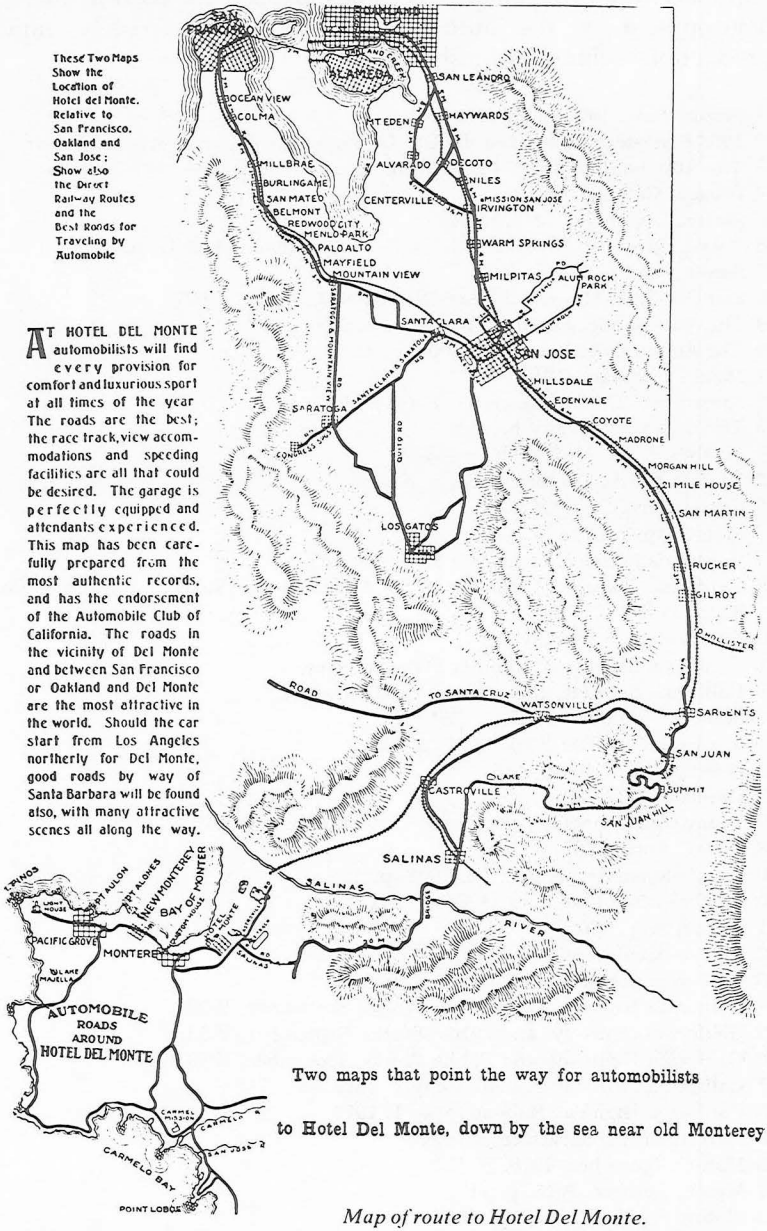
Ford's rapid growth was paralleled to some extent by the success of other very successful auto manufacturers - especially by Chevrolet which was pushing Ford hard by 1925 - a fact which was later to move Henry Ford to introduce his first basically different car in 20 years - the legendary Model A. In 1925 there were seventeen and a half million cars registered in the United States, and of the eleven million Fords which had been built, it was estimated that eight million of them were still in use. The State of California registered one and a quarter million cars in 1925. A sizeable proportion of these must have been Fords, contributing their share to state growth. Good roads, the usually mild climate and an increase of one million cars in use in California in the ten years between 1915 and 1925 all combined to help increase California's population[43] - from less than 3% of the nation's total in 1915 to 9.8% in 1970, and along the way in the Sixties to cause

a Sacramento celebration upon California's becoming the most populous state in the union.[45] Europe may have led the way in early development of the auto, but Henry Ford's widely copied production techniques finished the job.

1 **Motor**, June, 1907, p. 49.
2 **1906 Statistical Abstract of the US**, US Secretary of Commerce and Labor.
3 **The Automobile**, March 12, 1908, p. 364.
4 **Peugeot Catalog**, 1976.
5 **Motor**, December, 1915, p. 52.
6 **Young**, San Francisco - the Pacific Coast Metropolis, Vol. II, p. 800.
7 **Sunset**, April, 1902, p. 248.
8 San Francisco Municipal Reports, 1902-1903, pp. 379, 607.
9 **The Automobile**, February 13, 1908, p. 219.
10 **The Automobile**, January 9, 1908, p. 42.
11 **Motor**, February, 1916.
12 **Sacramento Union**, March 23, 1941, p. 4d.
13 **The Argonaut**, August 8, 1904.
14 **World's Work**, May, 1904, p. 4270.
15 **World's Work**, October, 1904, p. 5341.
16 **Sunset**, January, 1904.
17 **Motor**, April, 1907, p. 47.
18 **California Statutes**, California State Archives.
19 **California Statutes**, California State Archives, and State of California Blue Book, 1907.
20 California State Archives.
21 **California Statutes**, California State Archives.
22 **California Statutes**, California State Archives.
23 **Sunset**, November, 1903, p. 120.
24 San Francisco Blue Book, 1907, p. 419.
25 **Overland**, Vol. 48, p. 145.
26 **Overland**, Vol. 48, p. 152.
27 **Young**, San Francisco, the Pacific Coast Metropolis, Vol. II, p. 920.
28 **Motor**, April, 1907, p. 53.
29 **The Automobile**, January 28, 1908, p. 125.
30 San Francisco Blue Book, 1907, p. 401, 402.
31 **Sunset**, May, 1902.
32 State of California Blue Book, 1903.
33 California Statistical Abstract, 1970.
34 California Highways and Public Works, September, 1950.
35 California Highways and Public Works, September, 1950.
36 California Highways and Public Works, September, 1950.
37 California Highway Bulletin, May 1, 1913.
38 California Highway Bulletin, May 1, 1913.
39 Advertisement, **Sacramento Union.**
40 **Motor**, September, 1916, p. 151.
41 **Motor**, October, 1915, p. 115.
42 **Motor**, February, 1916, p. 132.
43 **Motor**, June, 1915, p. 46.
44 **World Almanac**, 1976.

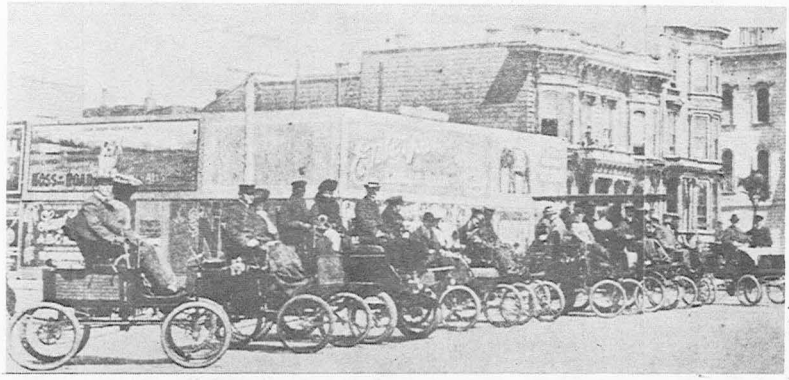
These Two Maps Show the Location of Hotel del Monte. Relative to San Francisco, Oakland and San Jose; Show also the Direct Railway Routes and the Best Roads for Traveling by Automobile

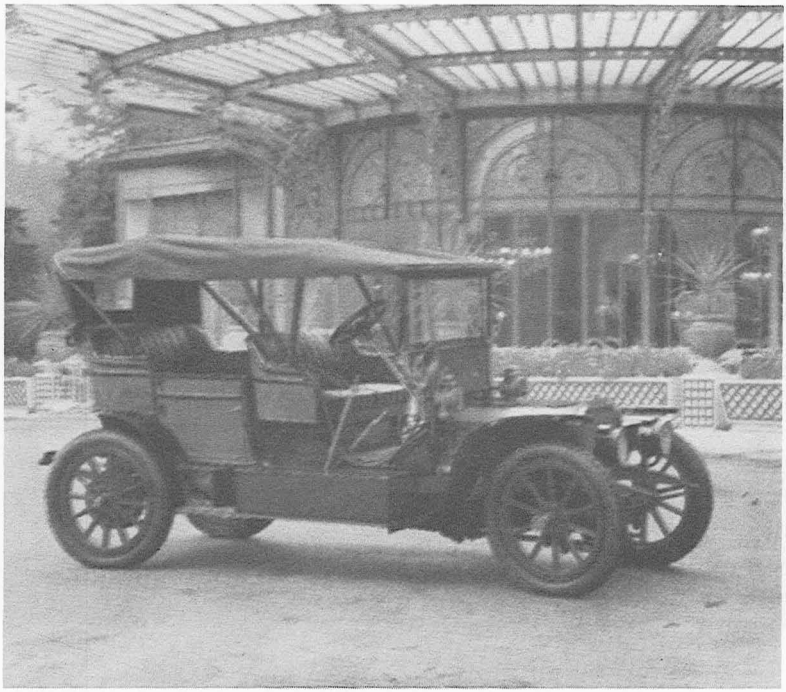
AT HOTEL DEL MONTE automobilists will find every provision for comfort and luxurious sport at all times of the year The roads are the best; the race track, view accommodations and speeding facilities are all that could be desired. The garage is perfectly equipped and attendants experienced. This map has been carefully prepared from the most authentic records, and has the endorsement of the Automobile Club of California. The roads in the vicinity of Del Monte and between San Francisco or Oakland and Del Monte are the most attractive in the world. Should the car start from Los Angeles northerly for Del Monte, good roads by way of Santa Barbara will be found also, with many attractive scenes all along the way.

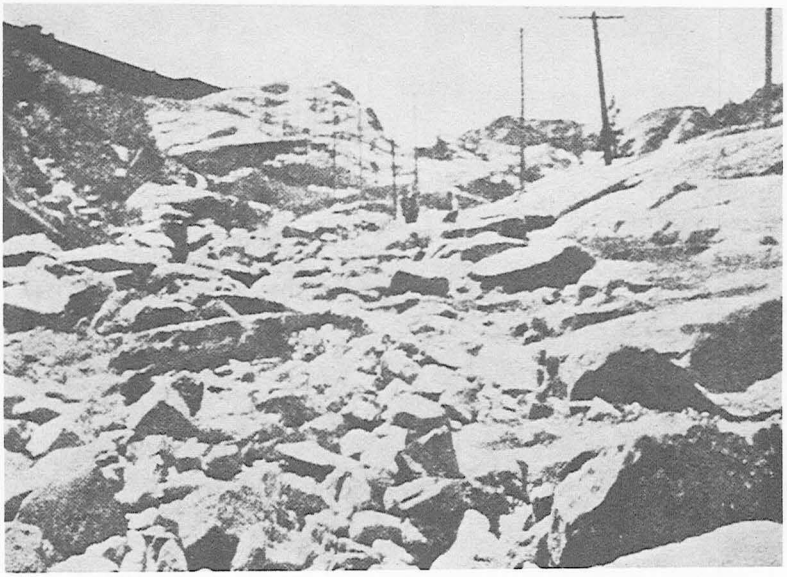


Two maps that point the way for automobilists to Hotel Del Monte, down by the sea near old Monterey

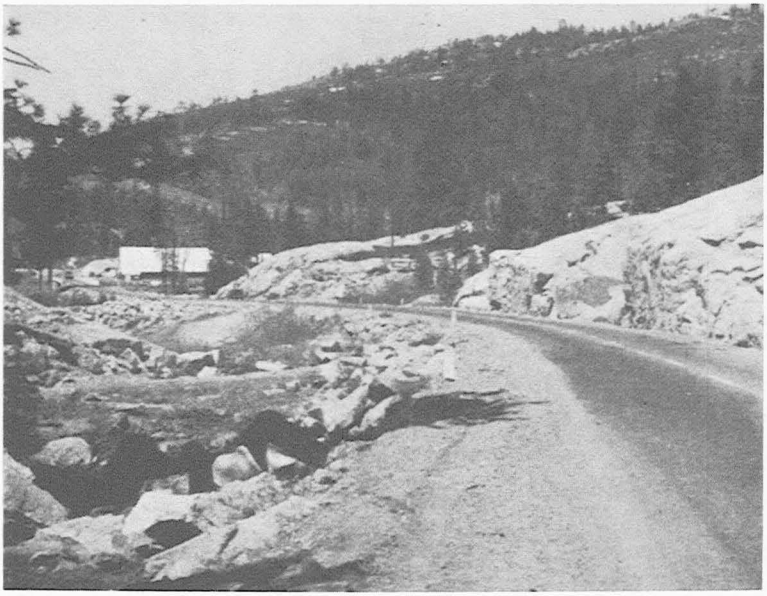
Map of route to Hotel Del Monte.







Pioneer State highway engineers constructed a route now U.S. 40 over these granite heaps.



U.S. 40 completed.

THE FAMOUS GREAT BASIN PIUTE MUSH BASKET

Known as the Navaho Wedding Basket
and
The Apache Medicine Basket
often called
An Immigration Basket
From Charles Dunlap Basket Story Collection
by Janet Goodrum

The Great Basin Piute mush basket is one of the most interesting baskets of the Great Basin and the Far West. Its design tells the story of the origin of the Piute people. The Navahoes also use it in their wedding ceremony, and the Apache medicine men consider it an important article of medicine.

This basket was purchased from an old Indian named Sam who farmed on the lower Klamath River below Martin's Ferry in California. When I saw it, it had mush stuck in the bottom. "That basket belongs a long way from here, Sam," I said.

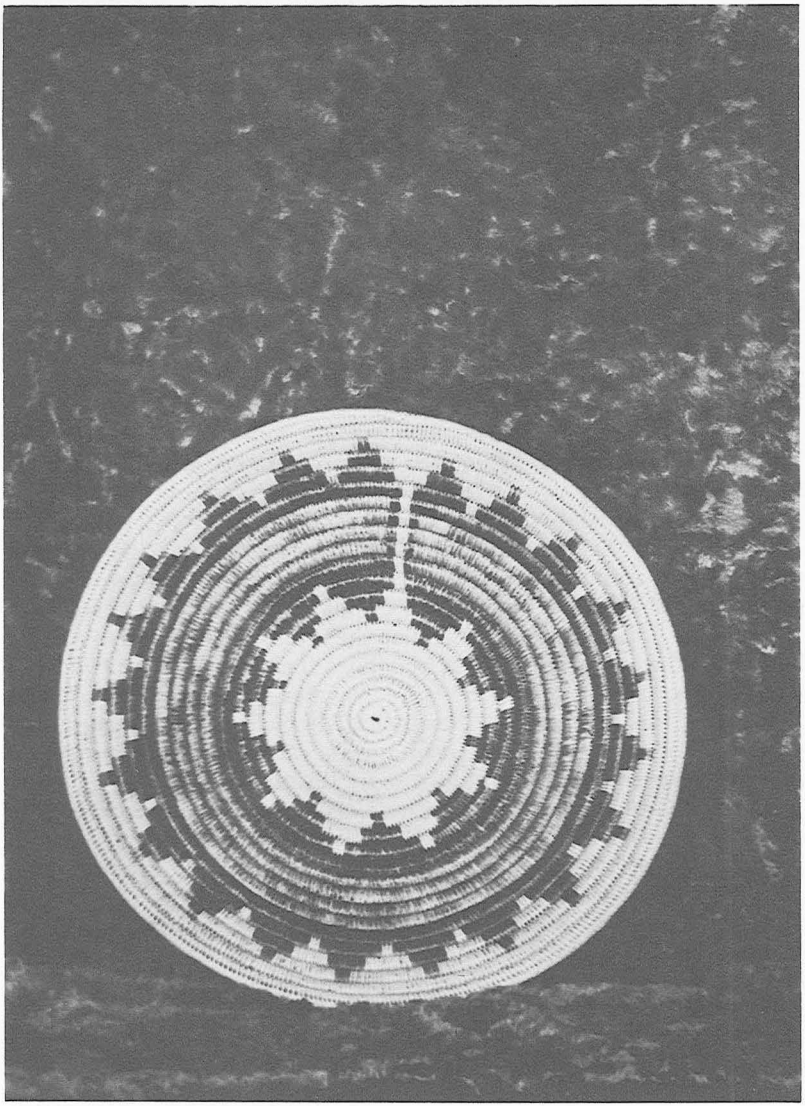
He nodded. "The Southern Indians travel around a lot. They bring things here and take other things back." He made no further comment and I learned nothing more about the basket's history.

Later I found to my surprise that the Piutes usually made these baskets and traded them to the Navahoes for blankets and jewelry. I had always known the basket as a Navaho Wedding Plaque, and assumed it was made by the Navahoes. They can and do make some baskets, but they prefer rug making, and are born silversmiths. It pleases them to trade with the Piutes for this basket.

The basket exhibits a high type of skill in a coiled, rhythmically even weave. The dramatic design of the black next to the mellow red contrasts with the delicate natural background. Although the materials may vary, these baskets are always made in the same way. This particular one is made of white and red willow. Some are made of sumac and martynia. Note the opening which is done very precisely. The last coil comes directly opposite the opening which guides the person using it to hold it in the proper ceremonial way. The Piutes call the opening "Shipapu" meaning communication between the upper and lower worlds.

Notice the decorative border which resembles braiding. This stitch is distinctively used only by the Navahoes, Piutes, and Havasupais, with the Navahoes claiming its origin.

Their legend says that originally an ordinary circular stitch was used. Then one day a Navaho woman sitting under a juniper tree finishing her basket in the usual style, wished to make it more beautiful. She concentrated very hard. Suddenly God tore from the overhanging juniper tree a small spray and cast it into the basket. Immediately the idea came to her to copy the fold of the juniper leaf.



This is a fine piece of Piute weaving, truly a study of perfection and fulfillment of Indian art, and symbolic of the origin of the Piute people. Legend says they believe there is an underworld that corresponds in hills and valleys to the upper world. These are represented in the design. All the Piutes came from the underworld, and from them sprang all the other races of the world. The means of communication between the upper and lower worlds is the

"Shipapu" opening. They believe if the "Shipapu" opening were closed it would be impossible for more Piutes to be born. This is a most fascinating story told by one of Old Chief Winnemucca's family to George Wharton James.

Usually these baskets are obtained from the Navahoes. Knowing the Piute meaning of the basket in reference to upper and lower world, the Navahoes refer to the opening as an escape hole for the Devil, connecting the underworld with evil spirits. They refer to the opening as "Aschindi."

They use the basket in their wedding ceremonies. Before the wedding, the bride and groom have a new hogan built. It must always face toward the sun. Often it it built mostly of brush. Both the basket and hogan are held facing the rising sun.

The mother of the bride prepares the wedding meal of sweet corn. The meal, called "mush cake," is dry but stiff enough to be taken up by the fingers. Blue larkspur pollen must be sprinkled over the top. They call it blue pollen, and nothing else will do. The wedding basket is procured especially for the wedding, and will be used to pass the meal. Porter Temeche, Navaho from Grand Canyon, Arizona, told about the hogan and emphasized again that the Navahoes do not make these baskets, but trade for them with the Piutes.

My understanding of the Navaho wedding ceremony is as follows: The bride to be is put in the hogan and covered with Navaho blankets while the Chief preforms a lengthy ceremony with the groom to be. At the appointed time the blankets are removed from the bride and she is brought out. The Chief and the medicine men finish the ceremony. Then the "mush cake" is passed on the wedding plaque. The bride and groom taste of the meal first, after which it is passed to the guests. The young form long lines to wait for theirs. Everyone who is unmarried hopes that by eating the meal he or she will experience a happy marriage like the one he is attending.

After the mush is gone, the Chief takes the basket and gives it to the bride and groom with advice about how to live and avoid the Devil. If the Devil catches them, however, they are to drive him out through the opening of the basket, which is the Devil's escape hole.

The basket or plaque is valued very highly by the bride and groom. In the case of the death of one or the other, the remaining one values the basket even more. The death of the second person means it must be burned with other treasures. Thus the basket is very rare and difficult to obtain.

The Apache medicine men value this basket highly. The explanation of the Apache use is that one time a Navaho was asked to assist at an important healing ceremony. After a successful recovery by the patient, the Navaho gave much credit to the Piute basket. Since that time the Apaches have seldom been without one. Although fine basket makers, they prefer to procure this basket from the Piutes because of its healing power.

FOUR GENERATIONS OF THE SEGHESIO FAMILY IN THE WINE BUSINESS

INTRODUCTION

THE HISTORY OF THE WINE INDUSTRY

"Wine has been a part of man's religious celebration for six to ten thousand years."

As expressed in this quote by M.F.K. Fisher, wine has been around for quite a few years. The first vines were brought into California by Fra Junipero Serra, one of the Franciscan fathers, in 1770, give or take a year. It is said that the grapes were good, but the techniques needed work to produce a better wine. The variety, Mission grapes were only of average quality, so more varieties needed to be brought to California.

The production of wine got off to a commercial start with the help of a French emigrant, Jean-Louis Vignes. He was a remarkable force in his day . He came to California in 1833 and before 1840 his El Aliso Vineyard approached 100 acres. His vineyards have all disappeared beneath Los Angeles, but in his time he was making more and better wine than any other grower in California.

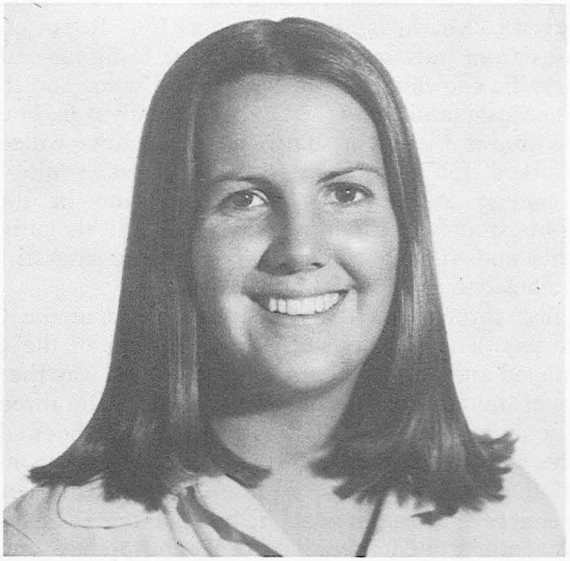
A great promoter of the wine industry in the Sonoma area was Agoston Haraszthy, primarily in the 1850's and early 1860's. He was an aggressive business man and saw into the future that Sonoma was indeed the place for great wine to be made. In 1860 he promoted the first grandscale importation of cuttings from great European vineyards. He was convinced that the Sonoma area had fine soils which could grow any type of grape desired. When he left the area in 1868 to promote his ideas in other lands, he left a legacy of 300 fine grape varieties and put Sonoma on the map for new ideas in wine. Haraszthy is often called the Father of the California Wine Industry, because of his introduction and subsequent large-scale plantings of the Zinfandel grape in Sonoma Valley.

In the early days there was the grape killing disease, Phylloxera, which wiped out many acres of grapes in Europe. The disease did effect California, but not as extensively as it had in Europe. There is now a prevention for the disease, but in its day it did do quite a lot of damage.

Many came to California and succeeded, but the adventure was not easy. They came not knowing what to expect and the chance of failure did fall upon some. Soon the word did get around that there was a future in wine production in California and the wine industry began to grow rapidly.

A big upset was the earthquake of 1906. Many of the old stone and wooden wineries of northern California crumbled and burned away to nothing. This setback put many vintners out of business and it was such a large loss that some dared not venture into wine again. For those that did remain in the business along with the vintners of southern California, the industry was still a prosperous one, and the quality kept getting better and better - until Prohibition.

The Prohibition made wine making illegal from 1919 through 1933. The steady demand for wine that equaled the steady California harvest suddenly disappeared. The making of unfermented grape juice did not bring in enough money to support the process. Bootlegging was chancy and no place for an honorable winemaker to be. The demand for a skilled cooper ceased, almost making it a lost art. The Prohibition put many wineries out of business, and the buildings became empty relics of a time gone. The grapes on the vines just rotted away, destroying fine vineyards. The only use for wine at that time was for sacramental use, but it alone was not able to support the industry. There was also the sell of fresh grapes to families, for each family was allowed to make 200 gallons of wine for their own personal use. Some wineries did manage to survive however, and they are the ones that have kept wine alive in California. The Depression came and the replanting of vineyards was hard to manage, let alone staying on top of the business, but somehow the hard, striving wine men kept the wine industry of California going strong and continued to make the fine quality wines they were best known for.



Suzanne Seghesio
First Place winner of the 1976 Kirkbride Award, Suzanne is a student of the University of the Pacific.

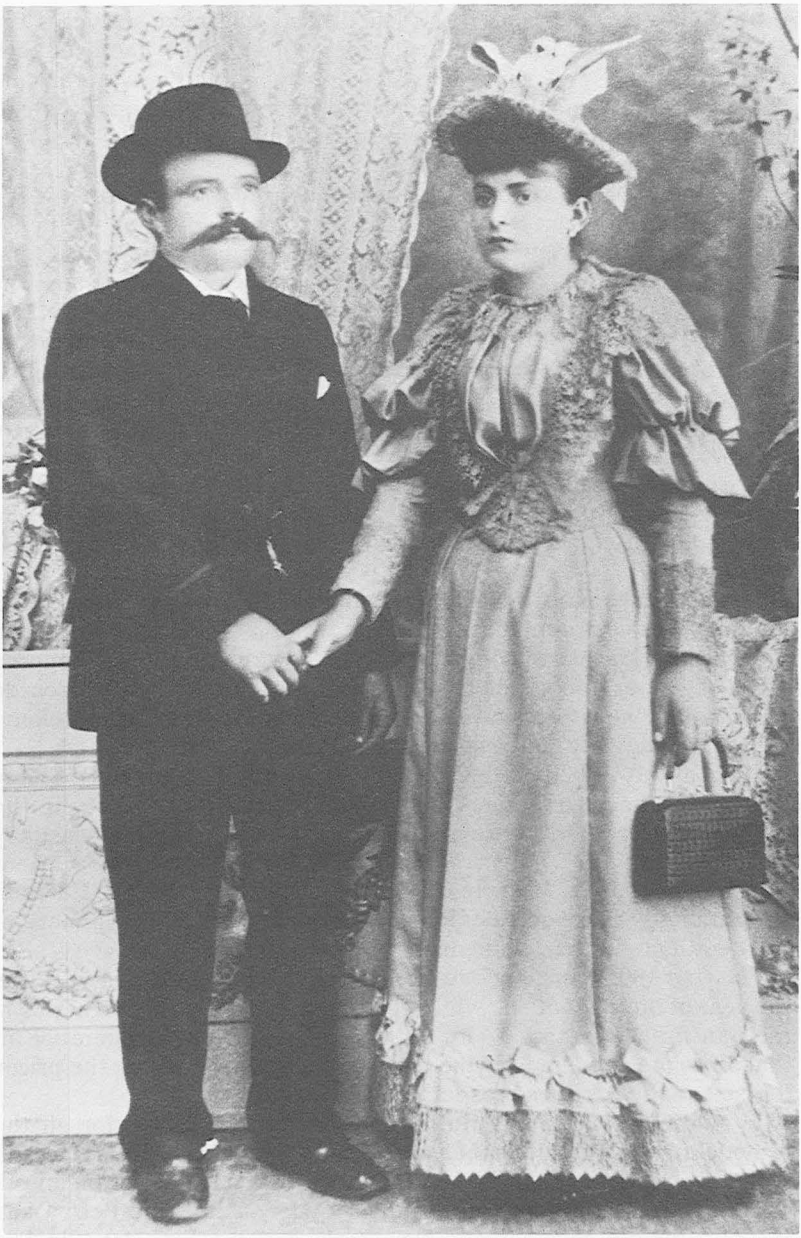
FOUR GENERATIONS OF THE SEGHESIO FAMILY IN THE WINE BUSINESS

Suzanne R. Seghesio

In 1886, Edoardo Seghesio, a native of Italy, came to the United States to work at the Italian Swiss Colony in Asti, California with Pietro C. Rossi.[1] Mr. Rossi, also known as P.C. Rossi, came to the United States from Italy in the early 1880's, bringing with him the highest scientific knowledge of the growing of vines and the making of wines. The Rossi family and the Seghesio family were both situated in the same area of Piedmont, Italy, in a small town called Doliano. Edoardo worked for the other Rossi brothers while P.C. was attending college at the University of Turino in Italy. After completing his studies at the university, P.C. left his native country for California and upon becoming very involved at Asti, he asked Edoardo Seghesio to come to California also.

For the first three years that Edoardo worked at the Colony he received no pay. The cookhouse, which was part of the Colony, is where he stayed and ate his meals, all free, which was the policy for the workers at Italian Swiss Colony. At the end of the three years he received one lump sum for all the work he had been doing. He continued his work there for five more years saving all his money that he accumulated and then ventured into grape-growing on his own. During the course of the eight years he had planned to go back to Italy to marry a sweetheart he left behind in 1886, but A. Vasconi, who was superintendent at Asti discouraged him from going, telling Edoardo he had the perfect wife for him right here in California. The woman he was refering to was his niece, Angela Dionisia Vasconi, who came over from Varano-Borghi in the Lombardy area of Italy in 1892. She was fourteen years old when she and her sister, Maria, came over with their uncle, A. Vasconi, and they settled in Asti. Angela attended school at the Washington School House for a year and then she fifteen, and Edoardo thirty-two, were married June 12, 1893 in Santa Rosa, California.[2] They lived in Asti for a few years at the old Kusick house which he helped build and in June 1894 they had their first child, Ida.

They bought their first grape ranch November 18, 1895 in an area called Chianti, which is situated between Geyserville and Asti. The land was part of the Reddington Tract, fifty-six acres of vines and pasture land. Land was not very expensive then for that era for the cost was only about 200 dollars an acre. In 1896 the vines produced 100 ton of grapes at twelve dollars a ton. They built a two room house on the property. The family later added on rooms and enlarged the original two-room house into a beautiful Victorian style home consisting of eight rooms. Their second child, Frank Peter, was born



Eduardo & Angela on their wedding day.

in the house on February 11, 1896. During the next six years the family worked with the vineyard, going through the harvests each year, slowly accumulating enough money to go into the wine making business. In the meantime, each harvest Edoardo would put his boxes of grapes on a cart with horses and haul them to Italian Swiss Colony to be crushed and made into wine.

On May 27, 1899, their third child was born, Arthur Peter. At the time of his birth the vegetable man with his cart stopped by the house and the family wanted to know how much Arthur weighed, so they wrapped him up in a blanket and put him on the vegetable scale. The simplicity of life in those days could amaze one, but that simplicity was not always easy to obtain. There were many hard working years ahead of the family when it started, but there was a strong bond that kept them together and got them through the hard times. When Edoardo bought his first piece of land in 1895, there was more property up for sale in that same area. He wanted to buy all of it, but he did not have the money and at that time there was no way of buying something if the money was not there to back the purchase. So he only bought a piece of it, hoping to eventually own all that he had dreamed.

The original Seghesio Winery was built in 1902 by the family. The building was very simple with a stone wall on one end to help keep the temperature cool inside. All the grapes were crushed by dumping a box of grapes into a small crusher and cranking by hand. Edoardo ran a bulk wine operation, selling the wine to Italian Swiss Colony. The gallon capacity of the winery was originally 9,000 gallons.

On May 21, 1902, the fourth baby arrived, Eugenio, but he only lived seven days. It was not uncommon for death at infancy in the early days for there were few doctors and the mid-wife usually assisted a woman giving birth. The fifth child, Vincenzina Inez (Chen) was born March 21, 1905. In the same year on November 1, Edoardo bought eighty-three acres of land at the same location being more of the Reddington Tract to add on to the first purchase.

The year 1906 was a big one for wine in the Sonoma County. It was the year of the earthquake which did much damage to the wineries in the San Francisco area. With so many wineries out of operation in that area, the demand for wine hit Sonoma County causing the prices to rise and the wineries prospering from it all.

By 1907 the house was finished costing about $1,000 for all the remodeling and additions that were made. By this time Edoardo and Angela were becoming more well established in the wine business. They began to sell their wine to other buyers such as the Petri Wine Co., a couple of companies in New York, and the Frei Bros. in San Diego, shipping the wine in fifty gallon barrels by train. The winery continued to operate as a bulk wine producer, selling bulk wine at a year old. The production went well and the family earned a good living and a good name for themselves.

The first three children of Angela and Eduardo, Frank, Arthur and Ida.

A larger crusher was installed at the winery in 1911 which ran on electricity. It was purchased from Italian Swiss Colony and made the crushing process go faster and easier.

The business involved the whole family. The children would go to school in the morning and on their way home for lunch they would walk up through the pasture and bring the cows in to the barn. In the afternoon the boys would help their father outside with whatever needed done, and Angela, Ida and Inez, the name she preferred over Vincenzina, would stay in the house and do the chores and meals. Angela helped out in the vineyards at first, but once the winery was built and Edoardo could afford more help she remained in the house and did the business work of negotiations for buying grapes from growers in the area. There was really no need to keep records of what wine was produced until the demand was made by the Internal

Revenue Service, As of September 9, 1916, the IRS required monthly reports from all of the wineries in operation. The IRS had to write quite a few letters expressing how serious they were about this procedure before all the old wine makers would start making their reports. Ida was married by then, she married Enrico Prati in November of 1912, so Inez helped out in the office. Before long she was able to run the office, keeping the records and freeing her father for outside work which he preferred.

The year 1919 proved to be one of changes for the family and for America. The Prohibition became a law which made the making of wine illegal. Suddenly the established market for wine disappeared, and the wine makers and growers of vines were left with just their wine and vines and no market. Many of the young vines that were recently planted promising a new and exciting variety mixed with the fine soils of California were pulled up. Bootlegging was one way to go, but many of the winemen held a respectable place in society and bootlegging was no place to be found for these men.

Italian Swiss Colony went up for sale, the owners could not withstand the restriction, and the price they asked was not very high considering all the property they had, some 1,500 acres of land and the large plant of 4,000,000 gallons capacity. Edoardo and Angela, together creating quite a force, bought Italian Swiss Colony on June 17, 1919 for $127,500 and guided it through the hard years which followed. They are generally credited with saving the colony for the wine industry in Sonoma County because it was going to be turned into a sheep ranch. They had one more addition that year, their sixth and last child, Pio Eugene (Pete), born April 27.

The government allowed some production of wine for sacramental use, but far from enough to produce much profit. The making of unfermented grape juice and syrup made use of the grapes, but not much market either. Fresh grapes could be sold, as each family in the U.S. could produce 200 gallons of wine for personal use. The important factor during this time was to keep the wine industry alive and not let the vineyards and wineries rot away to extinction. The Seghesios can surely be credited for doing that. Although there was a prohibition going on in America, they continued to keep their vineyards in good shape waiting for that day when wine production could return to the same pace as before the Prohibition started. While Edoardo was at Italian Swiss Colony the winery in Chianti remained inactive. Some wineries would fill their empty tanks with water to keep the tanks from drying out. Edoardo did not do this though, so once the repeal came and the winery began operating again there were some repairs to be made.

Edoardo and Angela were sole owners of Italian Swiss Colony for only one year. In 1920 the Rossi brothers, Edmond and Robert, reentered the Colony, being the previous owners along with A. Sbarboro and M.F. Fontana. Enrico Prati, Ida's husband also joined

The Seghesio home at Chianti.

the partnership. Edoardo remained with the colony for thriteen more years and then sold his shares in 1933.

On May 20, 1920, Edoardo bought another piece of property, adjacent to his home ranch property on the other side of the highway, twenty-five acres of vineyard. He gift deeded this to Frank and Arthur. Arthur married Irene Guaspari on November 16, 1922, and they built their home in 1925 on the property just purchased under his brother and his names. Frank married Lena Coppo in 1925 and they lived in Asti until 1933. On February 7, 1933, Edoardo and Angela bought the old Smith Ranch in Cloverdale. Frank built his home there.

The Depression came and went, leaving its effect on many people. The family just stayed together and got through another difficult time.

Edoardo passed away November 11, 1934 after being ill for about two weeks. By this time the repeal had come and the wine industry was making a come-back. In his will he left the winery and all the propety to Angela, and Seghesio Winery took on new winemakers, but the boys actually knew little about the actual process and the fine touch it took to make a fine wine. It was all a matter of experimenting and patience. By 1936 the wine started to improve and the hope of making a good quality wine again was becoming a reality for the Seghesio family.

In 1941 Angela gave Frank, Arthur, Inez and Eugene the business. They formed a partnership of equal shares under the new name Seghesio Winery and Vineyards. They still continued to make bulk wine and sell to other wineries that bottled wine. Although Angela was getting on in age, her spirited nature never tired and she always kept an eye on her children making sure they did the right things.

On March 2, 1942 the four partners bought sixty-three acres of land across the Russian River in the Cloverdale area, the former Bellport property. This was the first of many more purchases that they made

Going on the ferry — Eugene, Angela and Chen.

Four generations — Angela, Arthur, Julie and Edward.

in the years to come. By this time Frank and Arthur had families of their own, two children each. The upbringing of their children was basically the same as their father's, being exposed to the wine operation day in and day out, even attending the same little school house that their parents did.

Seghesio Winery made its largest purchase on June 10, 1940, when they bought the 1,000,000 gallon plant of Alta Vineyards Company for $75,000. This was their second winery, located in Healdsburg, just outside the city limits. At the time, Alta Vineyards Company was going bankrupt and had to sell. Seghesio Winery was the only one to put up a bid for the plant at an auction bid on the Courthouse Steps in Santa Rosa and it was a good buy. The winery had originally been called Roma Winery, founded in 1890 by the Scatena brothers.[3] They later changed the name of the winery to Scatena Bros. In the 1920's they sold out to the Domitilli's and Massoni's of Healdsburg, who in 1944 sold to Alta Vineyards. When Seghesio's purchased the plant there was already a large house on the premises, some vineyard planted out front, and vacant land in back of the winery totaling up to about nine acres. By this time Arthur's two son's, Raymond and Edward were married and ready to become a part of the business. Edward made his home at the new winery and Raymond lived on the ranch across the river in Cloverdale they had purchased in 1942.

The winery in Healdsburg produced only bulk wine as the other winery did. An average crush was about 7,000 tons for both wineries - 1,500 tons from the Seghesio vineyards and the remaining 5,500 tons was purchased from other growers. Modernization of the process made things easier and the wine was good. But along with all the new gadgets and machines came a lot of paperwork, something that did not exist when the first winery was starting out.

Inez married Clarence (Buck) Curnow of Sacramento in July 1950 and left Sonoma County, but she remained faithful to the business and came home every harvest to help out with all the book work that needed to be done. The youngest, Eugene, married Rachel Ann Passalacqua on November 17, 1956. They made their home at the original winery in the old Seghesio home.

After a lingering illness at home and in the Healdsburg General Hospital, Angela passed away on January 27, 1958. She left behind her a strong family to carry on the name in the wine business.

The partnership continued to expand vineyard properties, purchasing the choice seventy-eight acre Dry Creek Ranch December 31, 1957 for $55,000,000 from Lloyd Dixon, Jr. The productive Keyhole Ranch, sixty acres was bought in 1961 and ten acres adjoining the Keyhole Ranch, which was south of Healdsburg, was secured on August 3, 1970. The only piece of property in Mendocino County owned by the family was added on March 18, 1968 with the acquisition of twenty-three acres one mile north of Hopland. Twenty-five acres of land formerly being a cattle pasture and recently

planted to Napa Gamay and Carignane grape varieties bought on November 29, 1971 across the river in Geyserville completes the roster of vineyards to this date. With the exception of Italian Swiss Colony, the family has never sold property, once acquired.

As of this writing the family holdings consist of approximately 450 acres of land, mostly vineyard, at six different locations in Sonoma County, and at the one location in Mendocino County. Both wineries are still in operation. The original family winery at Chianti has gradually increased the storage capacity over seven decades to 500,000 gallons. The Healdsburg Plant now holds 1,200,000 gallons, making a total of 1,700,000 gallons available storage for the wine business.

In 1968 the family bought a wine filter press which was made in Italy. This press was one of the first to be used in California and was a big step in progress for the wine industry. At the Wine Institute's Ecology Conference in 1968 Edward Seghesio gave a talk, informing other winemen of the machine and how it can aid in making a fine wine.

In 1965, the original four-way partnership decided it was advantageous to the structure of the business to change into two corporations - Seghesio Wineries, Inc. and Seghesio Farms, Inc. Only Seghesio Dry Creek Ranch continues to operate as a partnership. With three separate sets of books, the owners have been better able to tell exactly where profit is or is not being made.

The year 1975 saw the entrance into the family business of a fourth generation Seghesio. Ted, son of Edward, graduated from University of the Pacific majoring in Business Administration in May of 1975. Ted, at twenty-three years, is now attempting to learn the business quite thoroughly from the ground up.

Now,it is 1976, and although the wine business continues to be exciting and challenging, it has changed. Selling wine in bulk is not as easy as it once was. So the family has finally decided to take the giant step, and develop their own label, bottling and marketing program. At the present time some choice dry red wines are quietly aging in the vaults for this purpose, some Cabernet Sauvignon, Zinfandel, Pinot Noir and Burgundy. Some white wines will be saved for bottling from the 1976 vintage as they do not require long aging.

So, after more than seven decades a new chapter is about to unfold for the Seghesio Family. The challenge, hard work and perserverance that will be required to successfully launch a bottling program should not be insurmountable for a family that has prospered by staying together and managed to survive prohibition, depression, two world wars and the economic "booms and busts" characteristic of the wine industry.

APPENDIX I

THE BUYING OF PROPERTY

Deeds

From Italian Swiss Agricultural Colony to Edoardo Seghesio
Date: November 18, 1895
Located: Lot numbers Ten and Eleven as the same are delineated upon a certain map entitled "Map of the Reddington Tract" near Geyserville, So. Co., Cal. West of the 101 Highway south of Cloverdale.
Acreage: 56.30 acres

From L.E. Pritchett to Edoardo Seghesio
Date: November 1, 1905
Located: Lot numbers seventeen and fourteen delineated on the map entitled "Map of the Reddington Tract" near Geyserville, So. Co., Cal. West of the 101 Highway south of Cloverdale.
Acreage: Lot 17 - 40.05 acres
Lot 14 - 43.47 acres

From Italian Swiss Colony to Edoardo Seghesio
Date: June 17, 1919
Located: The plant, Italian Swiss Colony in Asti, Cal., and all land that was a part of it.
Acreage: Approx. 1,500 acres

From August Lucchetti and Amabilia Lucchetti to Frank Seghesio and Arthur Seghesio
Date: May 20, 1920
Located: Lying and being in the Rancho Rincon de la Musclacon, So. Co., Cal. East of 101 Highway, south of Cloverdale.
Acreage: 25.00 acres

From A.M. Johnson, a commissioner appointed by the Superior Court of the State of California in and for the County of Sonoma, in the action hereinafter mentioned, to make the sale of the propety hereinafter described, to Angela Seghesio and Edoardo Seghesio.
Date: February 7, 1933
Located: The old Smith ranch in Cloverdale.
Acreage: 53.00 acres

From Lucille Alexander Clark to Frank Seghesio, Arthur Seghesio, Eugene P. Seghesio and Inez Seghesio.
Date: March 2, 1942
Located: On River Rd., east of the Russian River, just south of Cloverdale, old Bellport ranch.
Acreage: 62.95 acres.

From Edoardo and Angela Seghesio to Pio Eugene Seghesio
Date: December 9, 1924
Located: West of the 101 Highway, south of Cloverdale.
Acreage: Lot 10 & 11 - 56.30 acres
Lot 17 - 40.05 acres
Lot 14 - 43.37 acres

From Edoardo Seghesio & Angela Seghesio to Frank Seghesio and Arthur Seghesio
Date: December 9, 1924
Located: East of Highway 101, south of Cloverdale.
Acreage: 88.24 acres

From Earle M. Jones, as sole remaining trustee of the Alta Vineyards Company, a corporation, to Seghesio Winery, a corporation consisting of Frank Seghesio, Arthur Seghesio, Inez Seghesio and Eugene Seghesio, general partners.
Date: June 10, 1949
Located: 14730 Grove St., Healdsburg, Cal.
Acreage: 9.00 acres, winery buildings and equipment

From Everett D. Cross and Elizabeth Cross to Frank Seghesio, Arthur Seghesio, Eugene P. Seghesio, and Inez Curnow.
Date: August 29, 1957
Located: In Plumas County, portion of Lot 1 in block 1 of the town of Quincy, Cal. Just a building.
Acreage: Unknown at present

From Lloyd A. Dixon, Jr., and Charlotte L. Dixon to Frank Seghesio, Arthur Seghesio, Eugene Seghesio, and Inez Seghesio
Date: December 31, 1957
Located: The former Dixon Ranch in the Dry Creek Valley of Sonoma Co. Old Weaver and Barrett Ranches, large home on property also, being the old Weaver home.
Acreage: 78.53 acres

From Wayne Rulofson to Seghesio Farms
Date: 1961
Located: On Foreman Lane, approx. four miles southwest of Healdsburg, So. Co., Cal. Called the Keyhole Ranch because of its shape.
Acreage: 60.00 acres

From Eleanor Schwab, formerly known as Eleanor Miller, to Seghesio Wineries, Inc. a California corporation.
Date: February 3, 1967
Located: Being part of the Miller Fruit Company, adjoining the winery in Healdsburg.
Acreage: 2.39 acres and buildings

From Ona Breitenbach to Seghesio Farms, a corporation
Date: March 18, 1968
Located: ¼ mile north of Hopland, east of the 101 highway, Mendocino County, Cal.
Acreage: 23.00 acres

From Harry B. Tellyer and Mary M. Tellyer to Seghesio Farms, Inc., a California corporation
Date: August 3, 1970
Located: On Foreman Lane, Healdsburg, joins the south end of the Keyhole Ranch.
Acreage: 10.77 acres

From Adell S. Neighborn & C. Allen Neighborn to Seghesio Farms
Date: November 29, 1971
Located: Near Geyserville, east of the Russian River, the old Boyes Ranch.
Acreage: 25.47 acres

From Louis Foppiano, as surviving trustee, with power of sell under the will of the estate of Edward Rollo Norton, deceased, to Edward H. Seghesio, Eugene P. Seghesio, Marjorie Seghesio Haggin, Frank P. Seghesio, Jr., and Arthur Seghesio
Date: February 26, 1974
Located: In the Dry Creek Valley, adjoining onto the Dry Creek Ranch.
Acreage: 2.42 acres

APPENDIX II

THE PARTNERSHIPS

1895-1902 - SEGHESIO VINEYARDS - Edoardo and Angela Seghesio
1902-1934 - SEGHESIO WINERY & VINEYARDS - Edoardo and Angela Seghesio
1934-1941 - SEGHESIO WINERY & VINEYARDS - Angela Seghesio
1941-1965 - SEGHESIO WINERY & VINEYARDS
Frank Seghesio - 1/4 share
Arthur Seghesio - 1/4 share
Inez Seghesio - 1/4 share
Eugene P. Seghesio - 1/4 share
1965 - SEGHESIO WINERIES, INC.
Frank Seghesio - 1/4 share
Arthur Seghesio - 1/4 share
Inez Seghesio - 1/4 share
Inez Seghesio Curnow - 1/4 share
Eugene P. Seghesio - 1/4 share
1965 - SEGHESIO FARMS, INC.
Frank Seghesio - 1/4 share
Arthur Seghesio - 1/4 share
Inez Seghesio Curnow - 1/4 share
Eugene P. Seghesio - 1/4 share
1957 - DRY CREEK RANCH (Separate from Seghesio Farms, Inc.)
Frank Seghesio - 1/4 share, willed to in 1971:
Frank Seghesio, Jr. (son) - 1/8 share
Marjorie Seghesio Haggin (daughter) - 1/8 share
Arthur Seghesio - 1/4 share
Inez Seghesio Curnow - 1/4 share, gift deeded in 1963 to:
Edward Seghesio (nephew) - 1/4 share
Eugene Seghesio - 1/4 share
1976 - SEGHESIO WINERIES, INC. (Buys grapes, makes wine, sells wine)
Eugene Seghesio - 3/8 share=
2/8 share gift deeded from mother Angela
1/8 share willed from sister Inez
Edward Seghesio - 2/8 share=
1/8 share willed from Aunt Inez
1/8 share gift deeded from father Arthur
Raymond Seghesio - 1/8 share=
1/8 share gift deeded from father Arthur
Frank Seghesio, Jr. - 1/8 share=
1/8 share gift deeded from father Frank
Marjorie Seghesio Haggin - 1/8 share=
1/8 share gift deeded from father Frank
1976 - SEGHESIO FARMS, INC. (grows grapes and sells wine to Seghesio Wineries)
Eugene P. Seghesio - 2/6=
the three brothers each received equal shares from sister Inez, changing the parts to thirds.
Edward Seghesio - 1/6 share=
gift deeded from father Arthur
Raymond Seghesio - 1/6 share=
gift deeded from father Arthur
Frank Seghesio, Jr., - 1/6 share=
gift deeded from father Frank
Marjorie Seghesio Haggin - 1/6 share=
gift deeded from father Frank

PART III

José Matías Moreno

by

Robert Young

As was pointed out in the preceeding chapter, José Matías Moreno, as **Jefe Político de la Frontera** had to perform many functions, frequently without clear-cut lines of authority having been established. In many respects, he had the all-embracing powers of a dictator, while in others, he was operating in a shadow-zone, never quite sure what was expected of him. As a loyal Mexican patriot he was determined to uphold the republican principles and the laws of the Federal Government and the Territorial Government of La Paz. His problem was how to proceed to bring about peace, justice and prosperity to a land recently ravaged by internal strife and still remain within the law.

He quickly found that he could not depend on the Federal Government to give him anything but verbal assistance. The Peninsula was remote from mainland Mexico and of little importance economically, so little was done to assist the government officials there. Governor Riveroll was understanding; but he could offer little pecuniary assistance.

Thus, José Matías was forced to make do with what resources he had at his disposal. These were completely inadequate and he was forced to use his personal credit to buy supplies for the garrison. He wrote to Governor Riveroll:

I have had to pledge the credit of myself and govt. for $1500 in San Diego. I may have to draw on you for this. [35]

Unfortunately history was to repeat itself. In 1847, Pio Pico gave José Matías a certificate showing that the government owed him $1,666.66 in back wages, plus items he had furnished for government use.[36]

Pio Pico wrote a letter requesting that the Supreme Government honor this debt and pay José Matías what was due him. However, the indebtedness was ignored and was not paid.[37]

The same thing happened in 1861. The Supreme Government and the government at La Paz were unable to give him sufficient financial assistance, so José Matías, in order to keep the administration functioning, was forced to go deeper and deeper into debt.

This was to have a serious effect upon his future as we find him, at the time of his death, on November 30, 1869, land rich, but still saddled with debts encurred during his administration as **Jefe Político de la Frontera.** His widow was forced to borrow heavily, using

Rancho Ex-Misión de Guadalupe as collateral. Not being able to repay the loan, she was eventually forced to sell the ranch to an American, Theron Flower, older brother of her son-in-law, George Anson Flower.[38]

Beside the financial strain on his personal resources, José Matías was subjected to rigorous personal hardships. Although **La Frontera** was once again at peace, it was necessary for José Matías to accompany the troops on their periodic inspection trips throughout the territory, calling on Indian **rancherias, ranchos** and municipalities, hearing complaints and settling minor difficulties. In this way, he was able to increase his knowledge of conditions within his administration and make his government more responsive to the needs of the people. In a letter of August 1, 1861, addressed to his wife, Prudenciana, who was residing in San Diego, he said that he had just completed a march of one hundred twenty leagues (approximately three hundred miles) in the past twelve days:

...nevertheless, all goes well, even though my work is very hard, but that is not important. I serve my country and I wish to correspond in good faith to the confidence the government has placed in me.[39]

One of the important and most useful reports made by José Matías was the one entitled, **Statistical Accounts of La Frontera of Lower California comprizing 100 Leagues in Length and 20 in Breadth, Showing Its Pueblos, Ranchos and Localities.** This report, made in 1861, has been the source of many articles written about Baja California. Between February 17, 1870 and July 7, 1870, the **San Diego Union** published a series of nine articles, all taken from Moreno's report. Florence C. Shipek edited these, and other articles from the **San Diego Union,** in a book entitled, **Lower California Frontier,** which was published by Dawson's Book Shop, Los Angeles, 1965. Moreno's report was very thorough and covered all parts of **La Frontera.**

In another report to the Governor, José Matías gave details of a contract he had negotiated with Rufus K. Porter of San Diego. This was for a one-year lease of the salt deposits at San Quentin and entailed a fee of $1500. Moreno said:

...this is the first time that the government has received from these salt deposits a respectable sum, because the former authorities have reported nothing more than figures on paper.[40]

While José Matías lived and maintained his headquarters at Rancho Ex-Misión de Guadalupe, his wife lived in San Diego with their children. Not wishing to be separated from his wife, he made preparations for moving his family to his headquarters. On August 12, 1861, he wrote to his wife telling her that he was sending Don Agustin with a **carreta** to pick up a cargo of household items he had shipped from San Francisco. He said that he was making

preparations so they could soon be together again. In his letter he referred to a previous letter he had received containing news of the activities of his enemies. He said:

It seems that all the 'Yankee Digueños' [Pedro C. Carrillo, Juan Bandini, Santiago E. Argüello] have proposed to do me harm. It is not important, I, too, am a man and very much so. [41]

Again, on August 13, 1861, José Matías wrote to his wife telling her that he had a great deal of government business to attend to and would not be able to come to San Diego as he had promised. In order to justify his absence, he said:

He who governs, if he wished to fulfill his duty, is a complete slave to the public and more so if the public is like that of this frontier. [42]

In the latter part of August 1861, José Matías was able to bring his family to live with him in what was left of the old Misión de Guadalupe, which was now his headquarters.

The small garrison at Guadalupe was under the command of Lieutenant Guadalupe Scoble, a fine soldier who controlled his troops with an iron hand. A large part of the military contingent was composed of semi-civilized Indians, some from nearby **rancherias,** others from more distant parts of the Republic.

On September 16, 1861, tragedy struck suddenly. An Indian soldier attempted to sieze arms stored for use of the troops. Lieutenant Scoble attempted to stop the Indian from getting the arms and a violent argument ensued, during which the Lieutenant threatened to shoot the Indian. José Matías and his family were eating when they heard the argument and the Lieutenant's threat to shoot the Indian. José Rosa, brother of José Matías, rose from the table saying: 'I will go, Matías, you finish your meal, Scoble is my friend.'

Saying this, José Rosa left the table and went outside to talk to Lieutenant Scoble who stood, pistol cocked, facing the Indian.

José Rosa called to him:

For God's sake don't shoot him or all the Indians will come down upon us. Calm yourself, shooting this Indian will bring them all down on us and start them robbing and killing all the inhabitants of the frontier. [43]

As he uttered these words, he stepped between the two men. At that instant the gun accidentally discharged, the ball striking José Rosa in the stomach. He fell mortally wounded. His brother and family rushed to his side. Nothing could be done to save his life and he died a few minutes later clasped in the arms of his brother. Needless to say, this tragedy created great consternation among all who were a party to it. A hearing was held and Lieutenant Scoble was absolved of all responsibility and José Rosa's death was declared accidental. He was buried near-by, next to the mission.

A report from José Matías to Governor Riveroll, dated November 5,

1861, stated that one thousand tons of salt had been taken from San Quentin. Of this amount, about eight or nine hundred tons had been exported. José Matías wanted a firm agreement and a tax on the exporting of salt. He also wanted the agreement of April 1, 1861, with Rufus K. Porter, approved by the government. [44]

Another letter to Governor Riveroll told of the revolutionaries and Loreto Acebedo (adherents of Feliciano Esparza who had fled to San Ignacio where they continued to defy the government of José Matías Moreno). He said that Acebedo, who was an official of the National Guard, had been a lieutenant in Esparza's band, thus, a traitor. He said that Acebedo had taken part in all the criminal acts of the traitor, Esparza, and was therefore, not to be trusted. [45]

In November, José Matías wrote to his wife, who had returned to their home in San Diego:

Sunday at 8:00 pm, I returned here having left all my duties with the town of La Grulla well arranged. The municipal government was elected. Zerega is the President. José Espinosa 1st Councilman, and Bona, the Receiver Sindico. [A person appointed to take charge of property under litigation]. I finished all the rest [of the business] that was pending. [46]

In the same letter he said that they had caught the soldiers who had deserted. He said that he was ready to shoot the ringleader, but was prevented from doing so by Lieutenant Scoble. He said he could not understand why the Lieutenant had turned so soft. He told Prudenciana not to worry about him nor to pay any attention to the talk about Esparza. (There continued to be rumors that Esparza was planning to return and overthrow Moreno). He told his wife, 'I have men and plenty of lead with which to receive him.' [47]

The problem of supplying his small garrison of soldiers with food and clothing, to say nothing of salaries due them, was a serious one for José Matías. Money was very scarce and the Mexican authorities, in La Paz and Mexico City, did little to alleviate the situation, making many promises, but seldom following through.

A letter written to his wife on February 8, 1862, sheds some light on this situation:

It might be that Consul [José] Mugarrieta will send some provisions for the troops on this boat; that is if the accompanying letters arrive in San Francisco in good time. Said provisions should come marked P.L.M., which is for Pudenciana Lopez Moreno. In this case it will be necessary to pay the boat freight. If by then, I have not sent you the money, tell Pancho L. López - even though he binds himself - that he take you out of your predicament. Tell him that I will send him the ransom [meaning the money] later. Tell the said Pancho to take the provisions to the house. [Casa de López]. [48]

Frequently José Matías would have his American business associates or the Mexican Consul in San Francisco, send him supplies for his garrison. Transportation presented considerable difficulties as supplies had to be sent from San Francisco to San Diego by boat, then reshipped by boat, if one was available, to Sauzal, B.C., thence by ox

cart to headquarters at Guadalupe. Sometimes supplies had to be sent from San Diego to Guadalupe, overland, by **carreta,** or by pack mule or donkey. Often, José Matías' wife was called upon to arrange the details of such shipments as the following letters attest:

My **Pavsani** and Don Agustin arrived today and through them I learned that the provisions that Mr. George Hooper was to send to you - he did not sent, nor did Don Rufino. I know that Don Cristóbal has given you the supplies in Sauzal.
With the money you sent, I will buy you some supplies and we have until the return of the steamer to get them. [49]

In a letter of November 20, 1861, written to his wife, José Matías said:

Try to see Don Cristóbal of the **Farola** and see if he is ready with the things he is to ship to me. I need them very much. [50]

In still another letter, he said:

The things that were brought the other day arrived, even though they were wet, because it has rained something horrible. The only thing that did not arrive was a little box of shot caps for Felipe Crosthwaite. Yepis gave him one of his. [51]

On March 16, 1862, José Matías again sought his wife's help in arranging for the transportation of provisions for the garrison. His instructions were as follows:

...If Don Guadalupe Scoble went to San Diego and bought more flour, send someone to look for old man Rafael Villa that has a few of Don Rufino's burros and tell him to come with my muleteers, bringing what provisions he can on his burros. I spoke to him about this. Tell him Don Rufino is about to arrive at Sauzal by boat, or so he wrote me. Tell him not to fail to come with my muleteers. Give some small gift to Zuñiga, he has taken such good care of the chickens. [52]

The inauguration of Abraham Lincoln, as President of the United States and the subsequent start of the Civil War brought, tension to California and to **La Frontera.** Many people in California favored the southern cause, although, as a whole, California remained loyal to the Union. Southern California and San Diego were hotbeds of southern intrigue. Many **Californianos** believed that a change in government would be beneficial to them, so, for this reason, espoused the Southern Cause. Some felt that events might be ripe for a take-over of Baja California. Arms and ammunition were stolen from the army depots in the belief that **guerrilla** warfare would ensue. All of this caused great uneasiness in **La Frontera** where most of the people wished to remain neutral.

The closing of the Colorado River ferries and the seizing of all boats by the Union forces, created a hardship for those Mexicans who wished to travel east to Sonora. In order to cross the Colorado River, it was necessary to obtain a special permit and these could only be obtained from the American authorities. This closing of the river to all east-west traffic was obviously an effort to prevent southern sympathizers from joining their comrades in Texas. This added to the

growing concern the Mexicans felt toward their neighbor to the north. Tension ran high and José Matías was hard-put to keep tempers from flaring up and bursting into open conflicts. Rumors of expeditions of **filibusteros** were rampant and feeling against the Americans ran high. Conflicts between Mexicans and American miners were reported but nothing of a serious nature developed.

On February 8, 1861, José Matías wrote to his wife hoping to allay her fears concerning the Americans:

Do not worry about what they say the Yankees will do at Fort Yuma. If anything endangers San Diego, I will come for all of you. [53]

Although her fears proved to be groundless they were, nevertheless, very real to her and to others who distrusted and feared the Americans. The War of 1846-48, was still fresh in the memories of many Mexicans and none were quite sure how they would fare in this new conflict.

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40 op. cit., Moreno Doc., Bancroft. Letter, Moreno-Riveroll, 18 July, 1861.
41 Op. Cit., Moreno Doc., Long, Letter, Moreno - Prudenciana, 12 August, 1861.
42 **Ibid.** Letter, Moreno-Prudenciana, 13 August, 1861.
43 **Ibid.**, Letter, Scoble-Moreno. 18 July, 1861 (Note on back of above cited letter, written 16 September, 1861, describes the accidential shooting of José Rosa, brother of José Matías Moreno, by Lieutenant Guadalupe Scoble).
44 op. cit., Moreno Doc, Bancroft. Letter, Moreno-Riveroll, 5 November, 1861.
45 op. cit., Moreno Doc., Long Col. Letter, Moreno-Riveroll, 6 November, 1861.
46 **Ibid.** Letter, Moreno-Prudenciana, 20 November, 1861.
47 **Ibid.** Letter, Moreno-Prudenciana, 20 November, 1861.
48 **Ibid.** Letter, Moreno-Prudenciana, 8 February, 1862.
49 **Ibid.** Letter, Prudenciana-Moreno, 1 August, 1861.
50 **Ibid.** Letter, Moreno-Prudenciana, November 20, 1861.
51 **Ibid.** Letter, Moreno-Prudenciana, 25 January, 1862.
52 **Ibid.** Letter, Moreno-Prudenciana, 16 March, 1862.
53 **Ibid.** Letter, Moreno-Prudenciana, 8 February, 1861.

Jedediah Smith,
a Protestant in Catholic California

by

Raymund F. Wood

The adventures of Jedediah Strong Smith, both in the Rocky Mountains and on the West Coast, are probably well enough known that they need not be recounted at this time. However, since what follows will deal with only a small part of his life, the relatively short time that he spent in California, it might be well to give a brief account of the reasons that brought him twice to California.

The first occasion was in the winter of 1826. Smith was the leader of the "South West Expedition" out of Utah, and his ostensible object was to trap for beaver in the mountains of southern Utah — and in any other place beyond that seemed profitable. But it may well be that his real objective was to go around the south end of the high barrier of the Rockies, to find the mythical "Buenaventura" River, and eventually arrive at the Columbia. Beaver turned out to be rather scarce in Utah, so he pressed on towards the Mojave villages on the Colorado River, arriving there with his thirteen men tired and hungry. After resting there for a few days he started across the Mojave desert, guided by two Indians who were actually runaways from the California missions.

After crossing the desert Smith and his men were again exhausted, but soon recovered their spirits when they came out of the Cajon Pass and onto the San Bernardino plateau. They arrived at Mission San Gabriel on November 27, 1826, and were warmly welcomed by Fr. José Sanchez. Smith himself did not long remain there. Governor Echeandía sent for him to come to San Diego, where he kept Smith for nearly a month before issuing him a passport, and it was not until January 10 that Smith finally arrived back at San Gabriel and rejoined his men. After leaving San Gabriel a week later, Smith did not have any direct contact with Spanish authorities for nearly a year. He did, however, write a letter, in May of 1827, to the priest at Mission San Jose, Fr. Narciso Duran, explaining why he had left his men in camp on the Stanislaus River, while he himself went across the Sierra Nevada to bring back supplies from Utah, so that they could all continue on their way north.

This letter did have some repercussions; the military was aroused to take some action, and a sort of warrant was issued for the arrest of Smith, "the fisherman," as the Governor called him. But when a small detachment of soldiers reached the camp on the Stanislaus they found that Smith had already gone, and the trappers seemed peaceful

enough, so the soldiers left without taking any further action.

Smith, meanwhile, was struggling, with only two of his companions, to cross the snow covered Sierra, and then the vast, empty desert beyond. He did succeed, though he and his men were close to starvation most of the time, and he did meet with his partners at the Bear Lake Rendezvous about July 4, 1827.[1]

With a new group of eighteen men Smith started south again on July 13, retracing generally the same route as before as far as the Needles. Here again the group rested as before, and the Mojave Indians seemed friendly enough. But, though Smith did not know it, a party of American trappers led by Ewing Young had, a short while before, moved along the Gila to its mouth, and then northwards towards the Needles. In a fight between Young's men and the Mojaves, several of the latter had been killed. This event turned the Indians against any sort of trapping party, and when Smith's men came among them the Mojaves decided this was an opportunity for revenge. As soon as the party was divided, during the river crossing, with ten of Smith's men and all of the horses remaining on the left bank, the Mojaves fell on them, killing all ten of the men and managing to wound one or two of the others who were in the act of crossing the river. All nine of these men, however, including Smith, did make it across the river, but they found themselves without any horses or mules, and with only fifteen pounds of dried meat, and a few salvaged items of trade.

Smith now had no choice but to go again to the Spanish settlements, and again ask for supplies, even though the permit Echeandía had issued the year before did not allow this. After a terrible crossing of the desert, on foot and without guides, Smith and his men reached Rancho San Bernardino, an outpost of Mission San Gabriel, where the majordomo let the men slaughter some cattle and dry the meat, and also let them have some horses in exchange for the meagre supplies they had managed to salvage from their misfortune at the Colorado River. Smith wrote a letter of thanks to the padre at Mission San Gabriel, and then set off north, across the Tehachapis and up the Central Valley to rejoin his men on the Stanislaus.[2]

Once again he found misfortune. His men, instead of drying meat and making other preparations for the long trip north, had spent the summer rather idly, shooting only enough game for themselves, and doing very little trapping. Under the circumstances there was nothing for Smith to do but to try his luck once more with the Spanish, and with three of his men he rode over to Mission San Jose, arriving there late in August, 1827.

He was not quite so warmly welcomed at San Jose as he had been at San Gabriel. In fact, just the contrary. He was at first kept under house confinement, but later released, and after two weeks was taken, with a military escort, to Monterey, there to face the Governor

once again. He arrived about midnight of September 11. Next morning Echeandia came in person to release him from the **calabozo,** and gave him the freedom of the town of Monterey. But it was not until November 15 that Smith finally got another passport from the Governor, and was able to sail from Monterey for San Francisco. In a few more days he had transacted his business in that area, and moved his purchased horses down to Mission San Jose again, where he could assemble his men, dry some meat, load his animals, and get ready for the long trip to the Columbia. This time, since Smith had a passport from the Governor, Fr. Duran treated him as an honored guest, just as Fr. Sanchez had done at Mission San Gabriel the year before. Smith and his men left Mission San Jose, their final contact with Spanish civilization, on November 27, 1827, and he was rather glad to be finally away from the Spanish bureaucracy, the endless delays, and a way of life totally alien to his New England Protestantism.

In summary, then, Smith and his men made contact with Spanish authorities, either civil, military, or religious, on five separate occasions. First, at Mission San Gabriel, for about six weeks, though Smith himself was there only a few days. Second, at San Diego, for a period of about a month, while Harrison Rogers, Smith's second-in-command, and the rest of the men stayed at San Gabriel. Third, briefly, at the San Bernardion rancho, though it is likely that his only personal contact there was with the majordomo. Fourth, at Mission San Jose, for a period, on and off, of about three months. Finally, at Monterey, for a period of about two months, coinciding, however, with the three month period at San Jose. Altogether, then, Smith and his group of non-Catholic trappers were in contact with the Spanish for a total of no more than five months during the period from the late fall of 1826 to the end of 1827. Why, then, is this coming of a Protestant (or to be more exact a group of Protestants) to Catholic California of any special significance?

After all, there had been many Americans, Protestant Americans, in California before 1826. The names of Antonio Richardson, Joseph Chapman, John Gilroy, or William Hartnell, to cite but a few, were all well known to the civil authorities. These men lived at peace among the Spanish hidalgos and rancheros, transacted business with the military and civil authorities, and were accepted as equals by the "gente de razon," the descendants of the original Spanish, Catalonian, and Mexican settlers of the land. What then was the difference between these early Americans and Smith and his men? The difference was simply that all of the first group, as a condition of either settling in the land, or of acquiring Mexican citizenship, or of marrying into one of the native families — all three of which things most of the Americans wished to do — were required by law to take a series of instructions in the Catholic faith from one of the mission padres or presidial chaplains, and then be baptized (or rebaptized if appropriate) in the Catholic church. Most of the adventurers who

came by sea to California during those early decades of the 19th century were not strongly religious, or had few if any definite ties with any church that they were unwilling to break.

But Jedediah Smith and Harrison Rogers were not the men lightly to forsake their Protestant upbringing. Nor, for that matter, were they ever asked to do so. It is interesting, therefore, to speculate on the impact that these two Protestant gentlemen had on their Catholic contemporaries in California, and what impact their enforced exposure to a totally Catholic way of life had on them.

First of all, there is no doube that both of these men, but Rogers most of all, felt that they were not going to be taken in by any papist mumbo-jumbo. If, when they first ventured into the realm of popery at Mission San Gabriel, they anticipated that they might be captured and burnt at the stake as heretics, at least they would die as martyrs for their faith. Unfortunately, the warm welcome they received from Fr. Sanchez rather took the wind out of their sails (to change the metaphor a little), and by their second day at the mission Harrison Rogers wrote in his diary, as if somewhat to his own surprise, "**Although** they are Catholicks by profession, they allow us liberty of conscience ..."

Smith and Rogers (and then Rogers alone after Smith went to San Diego) ate their meals daily at the padre's table, and one day the conversation turned to religion. Rogers says in his diary "I very frankly informed him that I was brought up under the Calvinist doctrine, and I did not believe that it was in the power of man to forgive sins." There followed quite a discussion on this subject, with the padre explaining that only when he was in his church, with his sacramental vestment on, did he have the power, given him by God, to forgive sins, Outside of the church, or without his special vestments on, he was just another human being. In other words, the power was not in himself but in God, whose agent he was. Rogers makes no further comment, or rebuttal, in his diary, so we cannot be sure whether he saw the logic of this reply or not.

It was some time, evidently, before Rogers could overcome his scruples and actually enter the mission church. He finally did so on January 15, nearly two months after his arrival. He says, "I went in their church today for the first time and saw their molten images; they have our Savior on the cross, his mother, and Mary the mother of James, and 4 of the apostles, all as large as life." (Actually Rogers was not quite correct in his guess about the four apostles, for the statues were, as we know today from inventories, those of St. Francis of Assisi, St. Anthony of Padua, St. Joaquim, and St. Bonaventure — none of whom were among the Lord's twelve apostles.)

There is one other evidence of Rogers' religious interest, and it is his New Year's Day sermon, or "address" as he calls it, to Fr. Sanchez. It begins by recalling the dangers of life on earth, and the

desirability of thanking God for sustaining all of them during the year just passed. Then he comes to the nub of his sermon. "Therefore my advice is, to all the human family, to be faithful, to be devoted to God, to be kind, be benevolent to their fellow sufferers, to act well their part, to live for eternity; for the everlasting destinies of their souls is suspended upon their probation, and this may close (in) the present year."[3] The balance of Roger's address was concerned with Christ's admonition, just before He ascended into heaven, "to preach the Gospel to every creature." Rogers shows that this has been done, which was a rather neat way of expressing to Fr. Sanchez his sincere appreciation of the sacrifices that this good priest must have made, giving up his home land to travel half way across the world to fulfil the command to preach the Gospel to every creature.

It is unfortunate that the journal of Smith himself, during these same months, has been lost. Smith, unlike Rogers, was not an enrolled member of any particular church or denomination. Brought up as a Methodist, he preferred to consider himself, and was thought of by his contemporaries and his later biographers, as a "true Christian," but not necessarily a practicing member of any one denomination. Even so, even with much of his journal lost, we see evidence that he too was a staunch Protestant. Later on, during a period for which his journal is extant, he rightly guessed why Fr. Duran, at Mission San Jose the following year, was so upset by his coming; the reason was simply that he, Fr. Duran, was "apprehensive of danger to the **true faith**" (these last two words being underlined in Smith's journal). This was in fact the real reason. Duran did feel that Smith's Protestantism, as mild a form as it might be, was nevertheless a threat to what **he** considered the one true faith.

It might be mentioned here that Smith evidently had less scruples than Rogers about participating in Catholic services. Twice, on Sunday the 9th of December and again on the 16th, Smith writes in his journal "I attended Mass." But he makes no comment about the service, other than the music, which he describes in some detail — "The Music consisted of 12 or 15 violins, 5 base vials, and one flute." He also mentions the sermon. "The father spoke in Latin and in Spanish, and a part of his discourse was then translated for the Indians in their own tongue." But no word from Smith about "molten images."

What then was this Catholicism of Spanish California, this one "true faith" that might be endangered by contact with even a mild form or Protestantism? Was it very different from the Catholicism of the twentieth century, the Catholicism of Catholic Californians of today?

Yes, as a matter of fact it was. It was different, not so much in doctrine as in interpretation. Just as among the various denominations of Protestantism there are different doctrines and practices, so

also within the fold of Catholicism there have always been differences of opinion, different "schools of thought," as they are termed. For example, in the realm of morals, there have at sundry historic times been two schools of thought. the school of Probabiliorists, and the school of the Probabilists.[4] The former contended that of two opinions one must accept only that which is the **more** probable, while the latter school held that one could accept any opinion as long as it was solidly probable. The repercussions that such doctrines could have in the law courts are obvious. If, in the absence of true certainty, it is **solidly probable** that a defendant is innocent, must he then be condemned merely because it is **slightly more probable** that he is guilty? Fortunately for our modern civil procedures, the Probabilists won out in the end, and nowadays we do not condemn a man solely because he is **probably** guilty.

These and other schools of thought have been present within Catholicism for many centuries, some Catholic teachers leaning towards a more liberal interpretation, others holding our for a more strict, or fundamentalist, point of view. And in many respects the Californian of the early 19th century, under the spiritual direction of the Franciscan friars, was about as fundamentalist as a Catholic can be. So it is rather ironic that these two trappers, Smith and Rogers, both schooled to accept the Bible as the fundamental source of their religious knowledge, should have been felt by the padres as such a threat to their own fundamentalism. For Catholic California, situated as it was on what had been earlier termed "the rim of Christendom," was perhaps the last bastion of Catholic medievalism to be left in the world. This adherence to the old doctrines, this reliance on a strict interpretation of the Bible in cases of doubt, is best shown in the area of cosmology, and specifically in the difficult question as to whether the earth moves around the sun, or the sun moves around the earth.

The ancient Greek world, particularly as represented by Ptolemy, as well as by all the early Fathers of the Church, both Latin and Greek, accepted without question that the sun, the moon, and all the planets, as well as the so-called "fixed stars," al rotated about the earth, in varying orbits and obviously at varying speeds. This doctrine was accepted by the early church, since it well accounted for the biblical narrative of the formation of the universe, as given in Genesis, as well as for such biblical incidents as the sun standing still for Joshua. Besides, it was plain common sense. Anyone could see for himself that the sun "rose," the moon "set," and the stars moved across the sky each night.

It was not until the great renaissance of scientific learning in Italy, about the beginning of the 16th century, that this geocentric theory of the universe was seriously questioned. A young Pole by the name of Kopperlingk, better known in Italy and to the world at large as Copernicus, spent his rather short life in producing a secretly published book, in 1543, called "On the Revolution of the Heavenly

Bodies," which was the beginning of the end of the geocentric theory.[5] It took the later work of Kepler and of Galileo to give the finishing blows, but finally, despite ecclesiastical anathemas and excommunications, and a last ditch effort to defend the literal interpretation of the Bible, the geocentric theory had to give way before the heliocentric theory of Copernicus; and today all scientists, and presumably all Christian religious bodies, accept the heliocentric doctrine and do their best to reconcile it with Scripture in their own way.

It was not so in the 18th or early 19th century, and least of all was it so in Hispanic California. Let us regress in history for a moment. During the High Middle Ages there had existed two outstanding Franciscan philosophers and theologians, Cardinal Bonaventure (for whom the city of Ventura is named), and John Duns Scotus, both of whom taught a system of philosophy which, while greatly influenced by the prevailing Aristotelianism of the times, still retained some of the traditional, Platonic-Augustinian cosmology. After 1274, the year in which St. Bonaventure died, it was primarily Duns Scotus who continued the Bonaventure school, so much so that Spanish Franciscan thought has become known as Scotism. In 1633 the Franciscans of Spain decreed that their professors were to teach in their classes of philosophy no other doctrine than that of Scotism, "under pain of irremissible removal from office."[6]

Did this have any effect on California? Yes, according to a member of the faculty of UCLA, Mr. James Nolan, it did have a considerable effect. Mr. Nolan points out, in a series of articles in the 1976 issues of the **Southern California Quarterly**, that Professor Junipero Serra, later to become the Padre Presidente of the Franciscan missionaries of Alta California, and founder of their first nine missions, had previously been a professor of philosophy at the Lullian University at Palma. Professor Serra must have taught Scotistic cosmology to his Franciscan students, Frs. Crespí and Palou among them, as this was an absolute requirement of his religious superiors, as was mentioned earlier. Do we have any positive proof that Professor Serra did indeed teach Scotistic cosmology? Yes, we do; because another one of his students, a certain Francisco Noguera, who attended the full three-year course of philosophy, carefully took down, perhaps word for word in some cases, a series of full notes of Serra's lectures, and Noguera's entire 808-page manuscript of these notes has been recently found.[8] To cite but one example of this Scotistic fundamentalism, we have the following words of Professor Serra, as jotted down by his attentive student Noguera during the spring semester of 1742, and as here translated by Mr. Nolan: "Contrary to Copernicus" (**contrary** to Copernicus, says Fr. Serra), "I suppose it absolutely mainfest that the earth remains immovable, and that all the heavens ... are moved in a circle (around it)." If this be not true Fundamentalism, one would find it difficult to invent any other term for it.

Now for the final point in his brief survey of Catholicism in early California. The Franciscans were, primarily, missionaries. Their leader, Junipero Serra, had previously spent at least eight successful years at missionary work in the Sierra Gorda of Central Mexico, where he had learned at first hand the essentials of missionary work to primitave peoples. He knew, among other things, the truth of the old adage that a picture is worth a thousand words. He therefore took pains to see to it that the adornments of the mission churches in California were such as to carry out the Scotistic cosmology that he was under obedience to teach, whether he taught it to students of philosophy in a university, or to untutored aborigines in far-off California. And the cosmology that he taught was the cosmology of Ptolemy, as modified somewhat through the centuries by Erigena, Dante, Duns Scotus and others. This cosmology places the earth at the center, with the sun, the moon, the planets, and the fixed stars revolving around it. As a means of teaching this complicated system to the Indians, certain statues and paintings were selected and deliberately placed behind the main altar and up to the ceiling of the mission churches, so that a hierarchy of values and influences could be logically discerned.

At Mission San Antonio in particular, as Mr. Nolan points out, there exists photographic evidence of how this iconographic hierarchy actually existed, from a photograph taken in 1889, before that mission had experienced any strong Anglo-American influence, and before its roof had collapsed.[9]

Mr. Nolan advances and substantiates the position that the statues and paintings on the walls and ceiling in Mission San Antonio do in fact represent the Ptolmaic cosmos, with the Virgin, "the woman clothed with the sun, and with the moon at her feet," as told in the 12th chapter of the Book of Revelations (also sometimes called the Apocalypse), with this Virgin, then, placed at the center of a series of concentric circles — representing the planets — reaching finally to the highest part of the ceiling, upon which was painted a decoration of a hundred or more stars, representing the outermost circle of the celestial bodies that revolve around the earth.[10]

But why the Virgin at the center? Modern Catholic churches generally place a large crucifix as the center of pious attention in a place of prominence on or behind the main altar. But this was not the custom in the 18th century, or at least it was not the custom in the Spanish Franciscan churches where Scotistic influence was dominant.

Before answering the above question — why was the Virgin placed in the center? — there is one other point of medieval teaching to be discussed. It concerns the angels. We know from Scripture that angels exist. They are mentioned dozens of times in the Bible. They were heard by the shepherds at the time of the Nativity; angels came and ministered to Christ after His fasting in the desert; and certain

angels are mentioned by name in the Bible — Michael, Gabriel, and Raphael, all of whom had missions in California named for them. But what, besides being messengers, as their name "angel" implies, was the principal function of the angels? When not engaged in delivering messages what did they do? The answer is simple. Their function was to move the stars and the planets along in their courses! Nearly all of the great theologians agreed with this teaching, Scotus among them, and Junipero Serra likewise inserted this doctrine into his university lecture notes, as is witnessed by the following sentence, translated once more from Noguera's notes: "I say, moreover," says Professor Serra, "that the Spheres are not moved by themselves but by certain Intelligences or Angels ..."

Nor was this opinion as to the movement of the planets and stars by angels merely the result of simple devotion, but was a deduction from the natural science of the times, and was in accordance with the principles of Aristotelian physics. Specific angels were assigned to specific planets, while others moved the stars. But if Mary, the Theotokos, as she was called by the Greeks, the Queen of the Angels, as the Spaniards called her, or, in the words of the beautiful prayer that is still recited every Sunday in the Orthodox Church, "more honorable than the cherubim, and more glorious beyond compare than the seraphim," [11] then surely she must be at the center of the universe of these angelic hosts. And so she has been depicted from time immemorial, a crown of stars about her head, and with the crescent moon beneath her feet; and she was placed in the most honorable position behind the main altar, with the archangel Michael often poised above her, with a drawn sword ready to defend her from the dragon which, in the Apocalyptic vision, is trying to destroy her newborn child.

Thus did the designer of Mission San Antonio, who was certainly one of Serra's own desciples, make medieval Scotistic cosmology accessible and understandable to the mentality of the aborigines of California.

All of this was naturally a little bit foreign to the average Protestant mind. And this is quite understandable. It seems to have been equally foreign to the mind of the German-American Catholic historian, Zephyrin Engelhardt, when he came, a century later, to write and illustrate the histories of the separate missions. He "corrected" one of the early photographs of the main altar at Mission San Carlos, by drawing a central crucifix onto the photograph, because to his German-American mind that was what ought to have been there. [12] But to the 18th century Franciscans it was more logical that the Virgin, not the crucifix, should be in the center of their iconography. It was consonant with their medieval philosophy; it was consistent with the Scriptures, both as regards the angels, and as regards the Apocalyptic vision of John the Evangelist, when he saw the Virgin "clothed with the sun and with the moon beneath her

feet." And if it was Fundamentalism, the padres did not know it. They only knew it as their tradition, their way of teaching, their contribution to the bettering of the lives of their Indian charges, their way of elevating their minds, of providing them with lofty thoughts, with beautiful artistic images, and, for the few among them who might be able to comprehend the mathematical logic contained in it, a whole system of cosmology and astronomy that was valid both for this world and for the world to come.

This was only one aspect of the Catholicism of Alta California when Smith and Rogers visited there, but it was perhaps the most tangible. It is unfortunate that these two men could not have become better acquainted with the Franciscan padres and their religion. Then perhaps Rogers would not have lightly dismissed the statues that he saw in the church at San Gabriel as "molten images," and Jedediah Smith, in the church at San Jose, might have come away with something more than an estimate of the number of violins in the choir loft. But they, and the padres alike, were children of their age. They knew nothing of modern day ecumenism; they firmly believed, each in turn, that the other's religion was false. Yet each, in his own way, followed the same line of reasoning. Each defended the Bible; each believed that it was the fundamental, though perhaps not the only, source of right doctrine, of salvation, and even of scientific, cosmological teaching.

So, in summary, when the Protestants, Smith and Rogers, met with Catholic Spaniards in California, and remained among them for nearly half a year, they touched and abraded each other at many points, and had many differences of opinion. Yet basically they were in agreement, and if they could have laid aside their prejudices they might have found, as most of us in this 20th century have found, that there are many roads to the heavenly kingdom, and a person is not compelled to arrive there by one path alone.

In this present century we have come a long way on the road to ecumenism, and we have left behind us the bigotry and religious hatred that in times past has cast a shadow over the history of our nation. Today, if a man wishes to take up residence in California no one asks him to what denomination he belongs, or requires that before he may do business here he must undergo a series of religious instructions. Yet all of us who read or subscribe to the **Pacific Historian,** the journal that is dedicated, in part at least, to honoring the name of Jedediah Smith, would consider ourselves, like Smith himself, to be "true Christians"; and we are all aware that we do not have on this earth a lasting dwelling place. Perhaps it is not too much, then, for us who honor the memory of Jedediah Smith to express our combined hope that when we too arrive at the heavenly kingdom, by whatever road we have individually taken on our journey, we shall find there none other than the Franciscan padre Narciso Duran and

the Protestant trapper Jedediah Smith, standing together arm in arm, to welcome us.

Notes

1

The above, and some of the following, information about Smith's journeyings is taken from three sources:
Harrison Clifford Dale, **The Ashley-Smith Explorations and the Discovery of a Central Route to the Pacific 1822-1829** (Cleveland: Arthur H.Clark Co., 1918

Maurice S. Sullivan, **The Travels of Jedediah Smith** (Santa Ana: Fine Arts Press, 1934)

Dale L. Morgan, **Jedediah Smith and the Opening of the West** (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1953).

Of these, the first contains no actual journal of Smith, but only his summary letter to General Clark, dated July 17, 1827, running to about eight pages, and summarizing his activities from August 1826 to July 1827.

The next (Sullivan) contains a copy of Smith's original journal, from June 22, 1827 (when he was crossing the inland basin on his way from the camp on the Stanislaus to the rendezvous at Bear Lake), to July 3, 1828, 11 days before the massacre on the Umpqua.

The third work (Morgan) is more of a biography, covering all of Smith's life, with sometimes long excerpts from various journals and diaries and letters, but with no attempt to reproduce any of them in full, except in the Appendix, where many personal letters of Smith are given in full.

2

The author is aware that this name of Stanislaus was not applied to this river until some time later, probably in or after 1828. Smith himself calls the river the Appelaminy. Since this latter name has completely died out of current use, the name by which the river is now known has been used throughout.

3

The full text of this "address" is given by Dale (above), pp. 213-216. The sermon, for such it really is, is well written, and includes such scholarly words as "minatory," and such well turned phrases as "visitations of sickness," "untiring benevolence," and "dawn of an immortal existence."

4

A fuller account of these two schools may be read in the appropriate volume of the **Catholic Encyclopedia** (New York, 1914).

5

Issac Azimov, **The Kingdom of the Sun** (New York: Abelard-Schuman, 1960), p. 49ff.

6

See Colman J. Majchrzak, O.F.M., **A Brief History of Bonaventurianism** (Washington: Catholic University Press, 1957) for the relationship between the doctrines of Bonaventure and Scotus. With regard to the 1633 regulation, this book merely states that at that time there was no mention of Bonaventure himself, but only of Scotus.

7

James L. Nolan, "Anglo-American Myopia and California Mission Art," **Southern California Quarterly,** Vol. 58, nos. 1-3 (Spring-Winter, 1976). This series of articles examines in great detail the iconography of the missions, the significance of the Christmas plays, the meaning of the placement of the statues, the theology of the Franciscans as shown by the contents of books in the libray at Carmel, and other aspects of early California art and life.

8

Nolan, **opt. cit.,** p. 182.

9

Nolan, **op. cit.,** p. 26, 143-185.

10

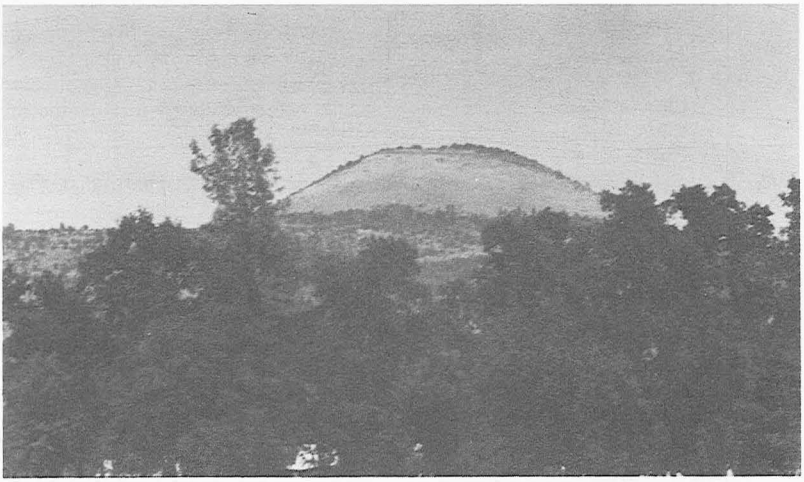
Nolan, **op. cit.,** p. 184, where a copy of the original 1889 photograph has been given an overlay showing the concentric circles which can logically be drawn from the placement of the statues and paintings appearing in the photograph.

11

The Devine Liturgy according to St. John Chrysostom (New York: the Russian Orthodox Greek Catholic Church of America, 1957), p. 62.

12

Nolan, **op. cit.,** p. 8-9.



Black Butte, formerly Asbury Butte

WILLIAM W. ASBURY: PIONEER OF BATTLE CREEK BOTTOM

by

Stephen Sayles

The Battle Creek country of northern California lies east of the Sacramento Valley where the Cascades merge with the Sierra Nevada. It is rough, rocky foothill country, formed by ancient lava flows from Mt. Lassen in the east, creating numerous precipitous canyons through which Battle Creek and its tributaries flow westward into the Sacramento River. Water has always been the key to economic prosperity in the region, and this is especially true of Battle Creek Bottom, which lies north of Battle Creek and west of the Shingletown Plateau. The Bottom is dominated by Black Butte, a volcanic formation, and it is covered with scrub oak, pine and fir, manzanita and chapparal, and poison oak. So it is today, and so it was over a hundred years ago when William Walter Asbury became the first white man to permanently settle in the Bottom.

Bill Asbury came to this area in late 1849 with his brothers. Their origins were obscure except that they were originally Kentuckians who had lived in Missouri before their long trek across the continent. The youngest, Thomas Asbury, found his Eldorado in the insatiable demand for lumber from mining communities and the valley floor, and he operated a shingle and shake factory near Shingletown.[1] The eldest brother, Pressley B., was a sober, brooding presence, his dark eyes flashing the fierce glint of Protestant fanaticism, and his distrust of human nature led him to hide his life savings in the rocks along Battle Creek.[2]

Bill Asbury was born in Kentucky on January 20, 1832, and grew into a slender, wiry, powerful man, six feet tall, with dark hair.[3] He was illiterate, unmarried, and not politically-oriented except that he was a non-voting Democrat. His greatest passions were poker, pinochle, and whiskey, all of which were available in the nearby mining town of Shasta City, which was already the largest community north of Sacramento and in the grip of a vigilance committee.

In late spring, 1851, prospector William H. Nobles of Ohio excited local merchants with news that he had traversed a previously unknown mountain pass much superior to the Truckee route and Lassen's Trail. Nobles urged these businessmen to consider what the development of an emigrant road through the pass could mean to them, particularly if Shasta City became the western terminus of this emigration from the Humboldt River. The prospects were so dazzling that Shasta City merchants raised $2,000 to hire Nobles to blaze a cut-off trail to the Humboldt River.[4]

When the snows of 1851-1852 melted, Nobles organized a small party designed for fast travel. One of the members was Bill Asbury, who later recalled that the group comprised about seven members, including John A. Dreibelbis, a ferry operator and politician who later wrote a description of the Nobles Emigrant Road.[5] On May 3, 1852, the Nobles party headed east through Shingletown, north along North Battle Creek to McCumber Flat, then east again through the Lassen region where Asbury claimed to have discovered Manzanita and Reflection lakes,[6] and then began the long climb over Nobles Pass which took them to the northern end of Honey Lake Valley. Dreibelbis noted that "the ascent is so gradual that on slight observation it seems as much down as up;".[7] After passing by Roop's Fort (Susanville), the party blazed a trail east to the Applegate-Lassen trails near Black Rock in Nevada, and then headed toward Lassen's Meadows on the Humboldt River. Shortly thereafter, a party from Yreka heading east to St. Louis hailed them, and Nobles said farewell to his men and returned to Ohio.[8]

Asbury and his comrades attempted to persuade approaching wagon trains to take the shorter and easier Nobles route into the Sacramento Valley, but the mishaps of "Old Peter" Lassen, an early

California settler and trailblazer, in blazing a supposedly shorter route in 1848 made the emigrants wary of new, untried roads. Members of the Nobles party were so aggressive in their arguments that they were nearly beaten by angry immigrants, but a small wagon train was finally induced to take the new route into California, arriving without incident in early June. The Nobles Emigrant Road soon became a major thoroughfare into the Sacramento Valley; and according to local boosters and the United States Topographical Engineers, it had great potential for a transcontinental railroad.[9]

Asbury had become friendly with Peter Lassen, who operated a trading post in Indian Valley during the 1850s. Lassen was irked by the acclaim given to Nobles for blazing the new road, and he claimed to have discovered the pass and guided Nobles over the entire route.[10] Significantly, however, Asbury failed to mention Lassen as a member of the Nobles party. In late April, 1859, Asbury was reported to be in Honey Lake Valley when news of the murders of Lassen and Edward Clapper arrived;[11] but when a burial detail was dispatched to the murder site, Asbury returned to Shasta County where he purchased a 160 acre homestead south of Bear Creek in a public auction.[12] He never subscribed to the prevailing notion that the Lassen-Clapper murders were committed by the Piutes or the Pit Rivers, and he "clung to the theory that Lassen was murdered by one of his party, who desired to profit thereby through procuring lands that Lassen had taken up."[13]

That the Pit Rivers received blame for the Lassen-Clapper murders was not surprising in view of their hostility toward white encroachment upon their land, but they were merely part of the entire problem of white-Indian relations during the 1850s and 1860s in the Lassen region. Asbury was concerned with the depredations of the Yana Indians, particularly the Mill Creek subgroup, whose guerrilla tactics had been refined over generations of conflict with stronger neighboring bands. Coupled with inadequate military protection, this led to demands for extermination by local residents and newspapers in which the Yanas were likened to predatory animals. It was not unusual for local ranchers to keep Yana children as "pets."[14]

Confronted by the lumber, mining, and agricultural frontiers, Yana resistance gradually weakened until they were finally crushed in August, 1866, after murdering a ranch woman a few miles east of Asbury's place. The victim had been a close friend of Asbury, and he joined the revenge-minded posse which trapped the Indians in Dye Creek Canyon. Following the battle, fifteen dead and scalped Indians were left to rot on the ground, their skeletons remaining in the canyon for several years. Before the day was out, the posse had killed Indians indiscriminately in the Jelly's Ferry, Cottonwood, and Millville **rancherias**.[15]

In 1872, following a brief stint as a freighter on the Old Oregon Trail, Asbury settled down on Darrah Creek near the southern base of

Black Butte, thus becoming the first permanent settler of Battle Creek Bottom. He was joined soon after by his brother, Pressley, and by the Keeran clan of Irish Protestants who settled on Baldwin Creek. The Asburys and Keerans became close friends, and Bill was especially attracted to the clan's matriarch, Mrs. Mattie Keeran. When she separated from her husband, Mrs. Keeran with her children moved into the Asbury place as his housekeeper, where she remained for the rest of her life.[16]

The 1880s and 1890s were years of expansion for the Asbury brothers in southeastern Shasta County, but Pressley's quirk of hiding his money in the rocks cost them a valuable addition on South Battle Creek, which later became the site for the Volta Power House. Pressley had bought the land in a public auction, but he was forced to default on the bid when he found his **cache** empty. He later dug around the immediate vicinity of his hiding place and found his life savings in a squirrel's acorn supply. Upon Pressley's death in 1889, a small "rush" to the Battle Creek area lasted for a few years, but his treasure was never found. Not even Bill knew of his brother's **cache**. [17]

By 1900, the Bottom had become one of the most densely populated areas in the foothills primarily due to agricultural and lumber operations. The farmers and ranchers depended on water from the Loggerhead Ditch which diverted water from North Battle Creek, but their economic security was threatened by the copper boom north of Redding which had produced a demand for hydroelectric power. A San Francisco financier, H.H. Noble, proposed to meet this demand by damming up Battle Creek and its tributaries; and to underscore his interest in the area, he built a magnificent summer bungalow, called "Noble's Castle," on the southern rim of the Shingletown Plateau, overlooking Manton Valley.

As President of the reorganized Northern California Power Company, Consolidated, Noble built the Volta, Kilarc, and South Power houses with the Coleman plant under consideration. Northern California competed against a plethora of power companies in the area, most notably the Pacific Power Company and its rancher allies in Battle Creek Bottom. Pacific Power was organized by Red Bluff promoter John A. Whitehead to construct a power plant west of the Asbury ranch; and to finance his land and water rights acquisitions, Whitehead relied on stock distributions at one dollar a share, making many Battle Creek Bottom ranchers significant stockholders. [18]

By this time, Asbury's land and cattle expansion had ceased. He had over-extended his financial resources a decade before, forcing him to approach his old friend, Lem Benton, for a $5,000 loan. Benton had made his wealth by discovering the fabulous gold deposits at Harrison Gulch, and he advanced the money upon the condition that Asbury put up 1,850 acres of his western ranch holdings, largely a

rocky plateau, as collateral. Benton then made a trust deed for this property.[19] This transaction was to have a major role in Asbury's relations with Whitehead and Noble.

Since the construction of the Pacific Power plant would flood part of Asbury's ranch and also the diversion of 20,000 inches of water from Battle Creek would cross his pasture land, the old man was critical to the success of Whitehead's scheme. Accordingly, Asbury gave Pacific Power an option to purchase his land and water rights for $60,000 before March 1, 1907. Whitehead picked up the option and promised to pay off the $60,000 by September, 1908, when the ditches and flumes were to be completed for the diversion of Battle Creek water. The acreage involved was that in Lem Benton's trust deed, which Whitehead promised to pick up for $3,000 while guaranteeing payment to Asbury of $200 a month.[20]

Two factors prevented the fulfillment of this agreement. First, executive disorganization alienated Pacific Power stockholders who then removed Whitehead as President. Second, in May, 1907, the Battle Creek Power Company, a subsidiary of Noble's Northern California Power Company, made plans to erect a 150 foot dam across Battle Creek below the mouth of Baldwin Creek, which would flood the Pacific Power Company plant site and part of Asbury's ranch. This was part of the Coleman project, which would complete Noble's construction on Battle Creek. Through his guidance, Battle Creek filed suit in Shasta County Superior Court to condemn property owned by Whitehead and Pacific Power, Asbury, Lem Benton, and other Bottom ranchers. On March 4, 1908, after a sensational trial in Redding, Pacific Power won seventeen of eighteen special verdicts but received only $2,500 in damages, and Northern California through its subsidiary won the right to begin construction on the Coleman plant, including the dam across Battle Creek. Asbury emerged as the only defendant benefitting from the decision, winning $30,000 in damages from Northern California.[21]

Noble had no intention of paying the settlement awarded to Asbury, and he appealed the decision while simultaneously negotiating with Asbury's attorneys, headed by old Alexander M. McCoy, senior partner of McCoy & Gans in Red Bluff. The negotiations were complicated by Lem Benton's death in July, 1908, and Benton's estate, including the trust deed to Asbury's property, went over to its executors. When it became known that the deed would be placed for auction in February, 1909, Asbury quietly obtained the deed for $12,233.33 and promptly reconveyed it to Northern California. In the agreement made on February 13, 1909, Asbury sold all of his western holdings to Northern California, including all of his water rights to Baldwin Creek and Darrah Creek save for what he needed to irrigate his remaining acreage, and he established ownership of a dirt road from the dam site to the county road in the Bottom. Asbury also received a life estate on this land in

the form of a life lease, which would revert back to Northern California upon his death. The amount of financial compensation to Asbury was later reported to be roughly the amount awarded in March, 1908.[22]

The Coleman Power House proved to be an economic boon to Asbury. He re-modeled his home to serve as a boarding house to accomodate some of the 2,000 Coleman employees. His ranch became an "instant town," and a saloon was constructed a few hundred feet from his home, much to Mattie Keeran's displeasure. It was operated by a gambler from Cottonwood who had frequent brushes with the law and competed with a saloon-brothel on Battle Creek. The Asbury saloon was apparently far enough from the Coleman plant to comply with a Shasta County ordinance prohibiting saloons near industrial operations. This was not the case in Tehama County, and brawls, knife fights, and shootouts were not uncommon.

Meanwhile, Northern California Power Company's relations in the Battle Creek area began to deteriorate. Through its complex system of dams, ditches, tunnels, and flumes, the power company transformed the economic geography of the region, and fields which contained orchards, pastures, and vegetable crops began to dry up. Additionally, many ranchers felt increased pressure as their neighbors succumbed to high prices for their land and water rights, and many did not have the financial resources to undergo prolonged litigation. Consequently, vandalism against the power company increased, climaxing in the dynamiting of a dam across Battle Creek in September, 1909.

Even old Bill Asbury's relations with the power company deteriorated. In early May, 1910, Noble, Superintendent Harry A. Tedford, and Engineer J. H. Stutt met with the old man on Baldwin Creek where they wanted to build a siphon across the pasture and to obtain the right-of-way to divert the waters of Baldwin and Darrah creeks to the head of the proposed siphon. Noble also wanted to use the Pacific Power Company's Ditch, which belonged to Asbury, and all of this additional water was to go to the generators at the Coleman plant then under construction. Noble gave Asbury $500 in cash and a $2,500 promissory note payable in three years, and the old man put his mark on the agreement.[23]

After the Coleman plant had been completed, Northern California General Manager E.V.D. Johnson visited the Asbury ranch in the summer of 1912. Although a talented administrator, Johnson's eminence in the power company was augmented by his marriage to one of Noble's daughters. To Johnson's surprise, Asbury declared that he had leased his land to a local resident and had already received $50 as part payment.[24] When the news reached Noble, he decided to move ahead in accordance with the agreement made in May, 1910.

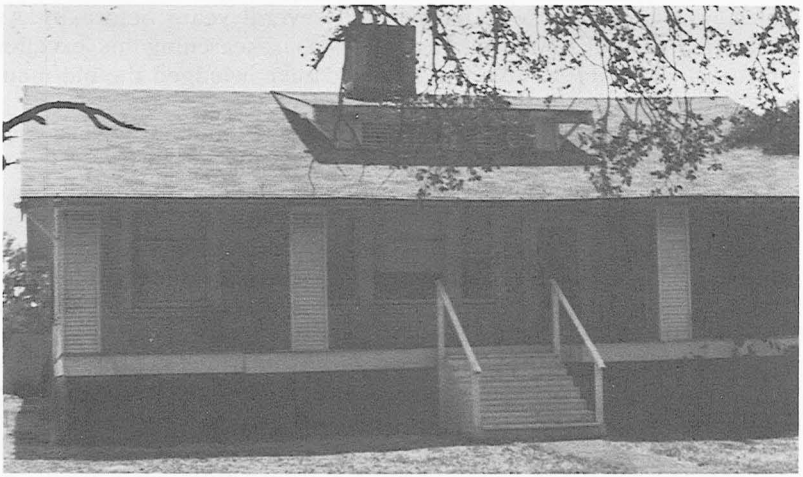
As a result, Frank Paselk was ordered to dig a ditch across

Frank Paselk December 1884.

Asbury's pasture from Baldwin Creek, part of which construction involved a flume tying Darrah and Baldwin creeks together. Paselk was a logical choice to head this detail because he had lived in Asbury's boarding house for several years, was romantically attached to one of the Keeran girls, and generally held the old man's respect. But, when Asbury learned of Noble's orders, he warned Paselk that he would meet him at the construction site with a shotgun. He was true to his word, and Paselk backed down, laughing later, "I didn't know if that son-of-a-gun would shoot me or not." [25]

This confrontation set the stage for a legal battle in the Shasta County courts which involved the area's most influential politicians. Asbury retained McCoy & Gans and State Senator T.W.H. Shanahan, a reform, anti-railroad Democrat from Redding. Representing Northern California where Reid & Dozier, with offices in San Francisco and Redding, and Redding attorney Judge Francis Carr. Judge Carr was a former Justice of the Peace and was laying the base of a brilliant career in Democratic politics which would see him as the most influential Democrat in Northern California during the 1920s and 1930s.

The power company obtained a temporary restraining order from Judge Charles M. Head, who was dying from Bright's disease, and the trial date was set for February 10, 1913. The trial had barely begun when Judge Head was informed that the litigants had reached a compromise in which Asbury's land and water rights under the 1909 agreement were reaffirmed, but the power company was also granted access to more water without threatening Asbury's economic status. [26]



Ranch House of William W. Asbury.

A few days later, Northern California precipitated another crisis in the Bottom when it blocked the flow of water into the Loggerhead Ditch, which touched off an armed confrontation between power company employees and Asbury's friend, Allen Penze ("A.P.") Waller, a gambler and operator of the area's finest whiskey still. The Loggerhead Ditch suit left Asbury in the role of sympathetic observer, and the Bottom was rocked during seven years of litigation by violence directed towards the power company, often involving A.P. Waller who blew up the South Power House pipeline and took shots at company employees.[27] This struggle also engulfed Fred J. Engle, who had married Mattie Keeran's daughter, Carita, and his confrontation with the power company made a great impact on his sons, particularly Clair, who later became a United States Senator. The ranchers' attorney, Jesse W. Carter, a Redding politician who later became a member of the California Supreme Court, was finally able to negotiate a settlement when Northern California was taken over by the Pacific Gas and Electric Company. Realizing that the litigation cost more than it was worth, P.G. & E. bought the land and water rights largely on the ranchers' terms in April, 1920.[28]

In the years following the termination of the water suits in Battle Creek Bottom, Bill Asbury spent much of his time in Redding visiting and gambling with old friends, and the operation of his ranch fell to Frank Paselk, who had quit P.E. & E. over a wage dispute. His whiskey supply was maintained by A.P. Waller who stopped by on his bootlegging runs into Red Bluff and Redding until his still was raided in the early 1920s. Asbury also became a valuable source for local historians in spite of a tendency not to allow facts to stand in the way

of a good story. He was interviewed several years before by Asa Merrill Fairfield of Susanville, who was researching his excellent history of Lassen County, and Fairfield acknowledged the old man's contributions. [29]

By his late eighties and early nineties, Asbury's physical and mental condition had deteriorated. In the cold, spring days of early April, 1927, he lay near death in his room. One evening Paselk heard the old man cry out; and when he walked into the room, Asbury's eyes blazed as he raised a clinched fist, extending his thumb and finger. "This is a gun," Asbury cried, "and I'm going to blow your damned head off!" [30] . Paselk was startled by the old man's rage but realized that it was merely a last gasp of life.

On the morning of April 11, 1927, Bill Asbury died in bed at the age of ninety-five, [31] and the Keerans and Engles gathered about the house. A huge cloud of steam from Mt. Lassen appeared in the eastern sky the following day. In the afternoon of the thirteenth, Asbury was buried in the red lava soil west of Shingletown next to his brother, Pressley, not far from Lem Benton's grave. When the mourners departed, only the soft, cold breeze through the pines murmured farewell to the pioneer of Battle Creek Bottom.

In the nearly fifty years since his death, it is now possible to analyze the significance of William W. Asbury's life in Battle Creek Bottom. He participated in the blazing of the Nobles Emigrant Road, which became a major route into California until the completion of the transcontinental railroad in 1869. The pressure of the white settlers upon the native population dramatically increased, and Asbury had a role in the virtual extermination of the Yana Indians and in the subsequent opening of the Battle Creek region to agricultural and lumber interests.

Bill Asbury's role in the expansion of hydroelectric power production in northern California is more ambiguous. It is clear that he was not hostile to the principle of private power development, but he bitterly resisted the excessive, grasping, and insatiable appetite of the Northern California Power Company, Consolidated, for Battle Creek water, which put the small farmer, rancher, and orchardist out of business. On the other hand, Asbury's early dealings with the power company led to the construction of the Coleman Power House and Reservoir, the largest project in the area. The Coleman plant was instrumental in the distribution of electricity north to the Oregon border and south to Colusa County.

Asbury is best-remembered for his stand against the Northern California Power Company in 1912-1913 in one of the most celebrated water rights suits in the area's history. The Asbury suit was one of many similar suits of varying intensities which created a climate of opinion hostile to private power development in northern California. This goes a long way toward explaining northern California's overwhelming support for the Central Valley Project in the

Grave of William Asbury.

referendum of December, 1933, which led to the construction of Shasta Dam north of Redding.

The most momentous implication of the Asbury and Loggerhead Ditch suits was their impact upon Clair Engle, who had grown up in the Bottom and had absorbed the Bottom's hatred of the power companies. As Congressman and United States Senator, Engle's public power posture and legislation establishing the Trinity River Division, American River development, and the San Luis Project, were direct manifestations of his early years in Battle Creek Bottom.

William Walter Asbury is largely forgotten today as the first permanent settler of Battle Creek Bottom save for research notes on local historians. There is something sad about this. A man who added so much color to Shasta County history ought to be remembered in some fashion, but no buttes, streams, or canyons bear his name, nothing but his name on a forgotten tombstone. Asbury was more than a minor figure in the broad scope of the American westward movement. In its own way, the long life of William W. Asbury was a microcosm of the sometimes savage, often painful, advance of American civilization.

FOOTNOTES

1 Myrtle McNamar, "Way Back When," (Mrytle McNamar, 1952), 67; letter from Patricia Felthouse, June 6, 1974.

2 As related by Maud Turner Tuggle in McNamar, 227.

3 Letter from Mrs. Beryl Ramey Belden, April 5, 1974; Frank Paselk, interview, September 5, 1972.

4 San Francisco **Daily Alta California,** June 29, 1852; May Hazel Southern, **Our Storied Landmarks, Shasta County, California** (May Hazel Southern, 1942), 56-57.

5 B.F. Loomis, "The Nobles Pass," No Date. Typed manuscript in the headquarters of the Lassen Volcanic National Park, Mineral, California 96063. Loomis was acquainted with William W. Asbury.

6 **Ibid.**

7 "A Jaunt to Honey Lake Valley and Noble's Pass," **Hutchings' Illustrated California Magazine,** I (June, 1857), 540. Also, William H. Nobles wrote a similar description of the pass in his letter to California Representative James Alexander McDougall printed in the **Daily Alta California,** May 22, 1854.

8 **Daily Alta California,** June 29, 1852.

9 **Shasta Courier,** August 5, 1854; U.S. War Department, **Reports of Explorations and Surveys, to Ascertain the Most Practical and Economical Route for a Railroad from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean, 1854-1855,** Vol. VI (Washington: Beverly Tucker, Printer, 1857), 60.

10 "Jaunt to Honey Lake Valley...," 537.

11 **The** (Redding) **Searchlight,** April 12, 1927.

12 Shasta County, **Records,** Vol. G, 339-340 and 512-513.

13 **The Searchlight,** April 12, 1927.

14 **Red Bluff Independent,** May 12, 1870.

15 **Ibid.,** August 29, 1866; September 5, 1866; Frank Paselk, Interview, January 2, 1974; letter from G.R. Milford, February 1974; Mrs. Alta Gridley Stone, August 29, 1972; "Early History of the Darrah Springs State Fish Hatchery Site, August 26, 1965. Typed manuscript in the Tehama County Library, Red Bluff, California 96080.

16 Frank Paselk, Interview, September 5, 1972.

17 As related by Alta Phelps and Clarence Findley in McNamar, 227.

18 Shasta County, **Deeds,** Vol. 53, 154-155; Red Bluff **Daily People's Cause,** February 15, 1909.

19 Redding **Courier-Free Press,** December 17, 1906.

20 Red Bluff **Weekly People's Cause,** March 16, 1907.

21 **Red Bluff Daily News,** February 26, 1908.

22 Shasta County, **Deeds,** Vol. 100, 649-652; **Daily People's Cause,** February 15, 1909; **Courier-Free Press,** April 11, 1927.

23 Shasta County, **Register of Actions: Civil and Criminal.** Northern California Power Company, Consolidated, vs. W.W. Asbury. Case No. 4543, File No. 241. Affidavit of H.H. Noble, H.A. Tedford, and J.H. Stutt.

24 **Ibid.** Affidavit of E.V.D. Johnson.

25 Frank Paselk, Interview, August 29, 1972; January 2, 1974.

26 Shasta County, **Record of Actions.** Case No. 4543, File No. 241. Judgment and Decree.

27 Frank Paselk, Interview, September 5, 1972; G.R. Milford, Interview, November 17, 1972.

28 Shasta County, **Deeds,** Vol. 141, 188, 200; Vol. 142, 404-412.

29 Asa Merrill Fairfield **Fairfield's Pioneer History of Lassen County, California** (San Francisco: H.S. Crocker Co., 1916), xiii.

30 Frank Paselk, Interview, July 6, 1973.

31 **The Searchlight,** April 12, 1927.

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One Biographer's Indispensables

by Elinor Richey

While reading proof on my latest book it struck me how much of it I owed to special libraries and library services I had scarcely been aware of before writing it. Of course, every biographer whose subject lived in an earlier era owes much to the adequacy of libraries and the skill of librarians. But far more than my previous books, my latest was indebted to specialized research help.

For **Eminent Women of the West** my subject was outstanding Western women, a category much neglected by biographers and historians, unless the women made their mark elsewhere, or were notorious. Because of this neglect most had been omitted or but scantily covered by those usual mainstays of the biographer **Biography Index** and **Readers Guide to Periodical Literature.** Soon after beginning my research, I discovered that most of what had been written about the nine innovating women I planned to profile reposed in libraries that specialize in local and regional history. Quickly I became familiar with those often overlooked libraries which if they happen to be in the West cherish such items as overland diaries, brochures of original land companies, timetables of dismantled narrow-gauge railroads and indexes to gold mines.

But wherever they are located, all of these special history libraries preserve along with books about their place and era such materials as yellowed scrapbooks, envelopes of clippings, old letters and photographs, files of long defunct country weeklies, vast quantities of unpublished material, and documents, some of them priceless. Whether their staffers are trained librarians, as most are, among them Ph. D. historians, or are untrained volunteers, they tend to be so imbued with their sphere that the biographer can talk with them about his quarry as about some fascinating mutual friend, no small assist in his lonely pursuit.

These mostly privately-financed libraries range in size from small town historical society libraries with a few hundred items to institutions such as the Henry E. Huntington Library at San Marino, California, with its hundreds of thousands of volumes and documents. But size is incidental if the library happens to be the repository of **the** collection, that is the personal papers of your biography subject — his or her letters, records, diaries, manuscripts and other unpublished materials. I learned the whereabouts of the personal papers of my nine subjects by consulting the Library of Congress's **National Union Catalog of Manuscripts** and the **Guide to Archives and Manuscripts in the United States.** The latter is the more helpful in locating material in historical society libraries.

One of my subjects was Abigail Scott Duniway, the intrepid Oregon editor and author who led the campaigns to bring suffrage and professional and property rights to the women of the Northwest. My best research on Abigail proved to be the excellent library of the Oregon Historical Society, located in Portland, where she published her bristling newspaper **The New Northwest,** during the 1870s and 1880s. I spent a profitable week there, during which I read the fascinating overland diary she kept when crossing the Oregon Trail in 1852. As the library is located on an upstairs floor of the multi-faceted Oregon Historical Center, downstairs in the museum I could peer through glass at Abigail's gowns, personal mementoes, and her early Blickensdorf typewriter, an odd contraption that rather suggested a spider. Most state historical societies maintain a library, not all as good as this one.

Likewise most state governments support libraries devoted to their state's history and development, and incidentally to adjoining states, with materials spanning the earliest period of discovery to presentday. Whether it is because Nevadans are exceedingly history-minded or because of the state's gambling revenue riches, it has inviably equipped and stocked history libraries. I was on the trail of the Princess Winnemucca, who as a Paiute Indian chief led her tribesmen through their gravest crisis. Abundant research help came from both the library of the Nevada Historical Society, located in jingling Reno, and at the Nevada State Library in Carson City, the small state capitol with its Wild West flavor. After gleaning facts at the plush, air-conditioned state library, with its welcome aid of microfilm reader-printers, I wandered down a picturesque street to the state museum, where a floor is devoted to dioramas of Nevada Indian history.

Gertrude Atherton was another candidate for profile treatment. That free-living and loving California novelist, who probably did more to influence American women to emancipate themselves than any other writer, left her personal papers to the Bancroft. That prestigious history library, founded by historian Hubert Howe Bancroft and now under the wing of the University of California, is located in Berkeley. Its vast collection covers not only the state of California, but contains materials on the Western half of North America, including the whole of Mexico and Central America. In its thick-carpeted reference room I pored over a large sheaf of the author's personal correspondence, original manuscripts and photographs, including one inscribed affectionately to an old beaux, the late Senator James Phelan.

Aspects of Gertrude Atherton also emerged for me from the files of the small library of the Society of California Pioneers in San Francisco. Which brings up another species of history library — those that focus not on a geographical area but a subject field. This one specializes in the Gold Rush and genealogy of the 49ers. There are

numerous such libraries, often an adjunct of a museum, as this one is. Variously they focus on the history of women, agriculture, maritime activity, Negroes, mining, and so on. I obtained material on one of my subjects from the Western Jewish History Center in Berkeley. One small library at Gonzaga University in Spokane, Washington, focuses on the history of its proud alumnus Bing Crosby. I pleasantly researched at the small Wells Fargo Bank History Room in San Francisco. Its collection, which dates from 1852 when the Wells Fargo Express Company was founded, specializes in the history of Western transportation, the gold region, and early San Francisco.

You may be unaware that many public libraries have rooms that specialize in local and state history. The main public libraries in Los Angeles and Oakland have excellent California Rooms. In Oakland I found useful information on three of my outstanding women who had grown up in Oakland when it was a town of 10,000. One was Julia Morgan, the first woman to graduate from the Beaux-arts and the first American woman to succeed in architecture. The others were Gertrude Stein and Isadora Duncan, who alone of my Western feminine greats had received major attention from biographers. But I wanted home town commentary on them. I was delighted to find the memoir of an octogenarian who remembered Gertrude Stein as a round-faced, pig-tailed little girl who peered at him over a rose-covered fence that surrounded the Stein home on the fringe of Oakland. That bowered fence, in his opinion, was the genesis of her lilting definition of the rose.

Most of these special history libraries have restrictions public libraries don't have. Their books and other materials do not circulate: they must be used on the premises. But most of these libraries will permit you to bring your typewriter or tape-recorder to facilitate note-taking. Some of them provide locked carrels for researchers; others have free lockers for storing equipment nights and weekends. Almost all provide photocopying service for their materials. However, not all personal collections may be used simply by walking in and asking to see them. Some of these libraries require that you write and say how you plan to use the material. A few of them require the public to be referred through public or university libraries, assuring that available materials have been tapped and there is need for their specialized services. But whether or not advance request is needed, it is time-saving to telephone in advance to permit preparations for you to gain access to the material.

Another kind of library came greatly to my aid — the Regional Oral History Office, which is a division of the Bancroft. I was vaguely aware of a library service that conducted tape-recorded interviews with persons connected with history. But I would never have supposed a library interviewer could gain more from a source than I could. After all, I had in my background eight years of newspaper reporting and had cultivated the art of getting people to tell me what I

wanted to know. Why would I need somebody else to do my interviewing?

Seven of my nine subjects for profiling were no longer living, so my interviews concerning them were with blood relations and former associates. After I had interviewed a number of persons, I learned that ROHO people had recorded interviews with several of my sources. Curiosity led me to consult their transcripts. I was chagrined, yet pleased, to find their tapes had gleaned much I had missed. My newspaper technique of keeping a news source strictly on track, insistently tugging him back when he strayed from the question, had not been a help but a hindrance. It was fine for uncovering hard facts for an afternoon deadline, but subtlety and illumination was apt to slip the net. These experienced oral librarians had permitted, even encouraged, their sources to digress, to meander off on side trips or detour up the back road of their memory — and thereby uncovered exciting facts and anecdotes nobody would have thought to ask for. Wisely they had given their sources free reign while the tape recorder whirred on and on.

Inquiring into their procedures, I learned there was another reason their transcripts had such an even flow, progressing naturally, yet full of specifics of the kind I always had to stop and ask for. What year did that happen? Can you remember the full name? Every interviewer knows the disastrous effect such interruptions can have on a fertile train of thought. It may be lost forever. The ROHO people had studiously avoided such delays with careful preparation. Not merely did they thoroughly investigate their subject before interviewing, but they also held a kind of dry run. A preliminary untaped interview was conducted both to apprise the interviewee of the line of questioning, but also to nail down many facts beforehand. So when the time came to turn on the tape recorder, both interviewer and source were ready for a relaxed, but highly knowledgable conversation.

Consulting ROHO's card index, I was delighted to find they had interviewed my two living profile subjects — Imogen Cunningham, the Portland-born pioneer photographer, and Jeannette Rankin, Montana's tireless campaigner for women's rights and world peace and first woman elected to Congress. I fortified myself with the Cunningham transcript before visiting the doughty little woman at her studio on San Francisco's Russian Hill. The Rankin transcript proved even more helpful. By the time I could arrange an interview with the 92-year-old Miss Rankin at a Carmel retirement home in the spring of 1973, she had suffered a speech impairment, and despite her eagerness to explain her ideas, her comments were almost unintelligible to me; she died some weeks later. The ROHO transcript made it possible to fill the gaps of my sketchy interview.

Since I was researching Gertrude Stein I was thrilled to find that ROHO had a tape of an interview with Alice B. Toklas, Miss Stein's inseparable companion, who was also a Californian. The tape was

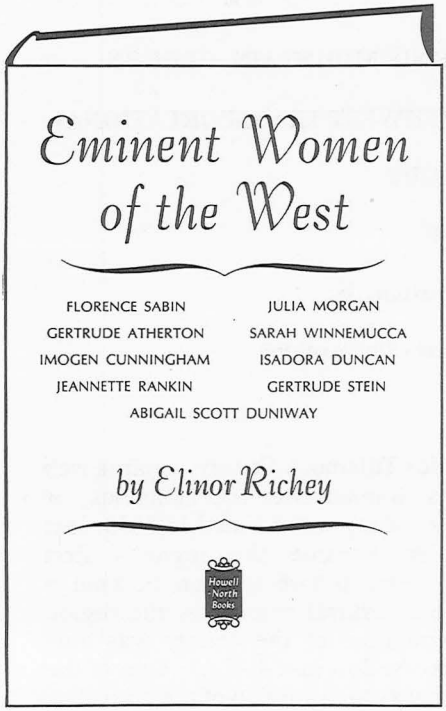
recorded on three consecutive days in 1952 by a University of California English professor who was visiting in Paris and took place at the apartment on the Rue Christine that Miss Toklas formerly shared with Miss Stein, then six years dead. I listened to the recording via earphones in the Bancroft reading room. I was surprised to find that Miss Toklas had swapped her California accent for a slightly British one. There was eagerness in her voice when she told how Gertrude had impressed her "at first sight. **Really** impressed me." No less revealing was her waspish tone when rebuking the interviewer for repeating a question she had already answered. "We went through all that yesterday. Shall we get on?"

That Toklas tape, I learned, had been the genesis of ROHO. After the Bancroft acquired a small collection of Gertrude Stein papers (not **the** collection — it's at Yale), a decision was made to augment it by arranging for Alice B. Toklas to be interviewed. The success of that venture led to the funding of ROHO, following the lead of Columbia University which got into oral history back in 1948, after the invention of the tape recorder. To date ROHO has completed 272 interviews with leading figures of the West, especially California, and with well-placed witnesses to major events or trends. The tapes are kept at the Bancroft, but transcriptions are bound and sold to other libraries. There are now more than 230 oral history projects scattered over the United States, most listed in a compendium published by the Oral History Association, which is headquartered at Columbia University.

Another helpful special service was inter-library loan. When I couldn't find a needed book locally, the inter-library loan department of the University of California obtained it for me by mail from another library. They can't, of course, obtain books from the non-circulating special libraries, but they **can** obtain photocopies of specified pages of the restricted books as well as copies of manuscripts. Some of the non-circulating libraries will lend tapes via mail through inter-library loan. Inter-library loan departments are a good source of information on the location of hard-to-find books and documents. Cost of their service is nominal, but varies from library to library. The majority of libraries over the world, including libraries in Poland and Russia, now participate in inter-library loan. One notable exception: the New York Public Library, which can't due to a legal restriction.

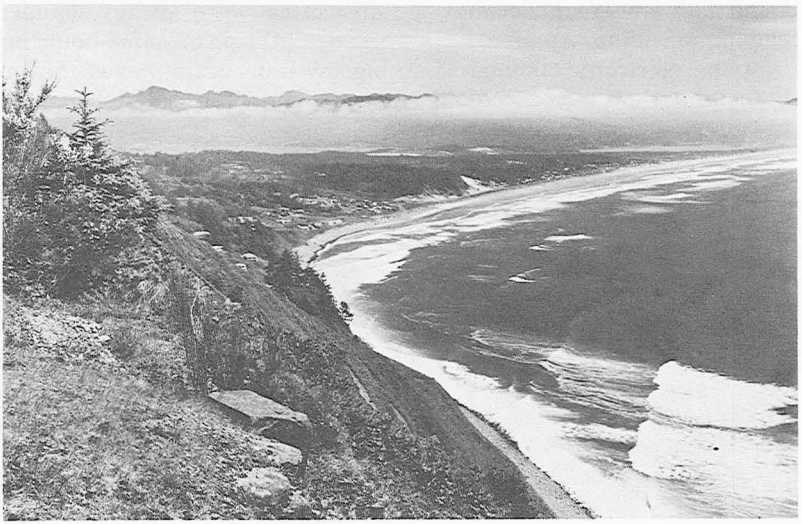
I wish to acknowledge and encourage still another kind of special service. After-hours telephone reference service isn't widely available yet, but it is spreading. It has proved highly popular at such places as the library of Stanislaus College and in the public libraries of Boulder, Colorado, and Berkeley and Oakland, California. I am an inveterate owl and prefer working nights, even Saturday nights. Quite happily I discovered that nightly until midnight somebody was waiting by the telephone at the public library to look up information. Whenever at some still hour paralysis seized my brain or the tree outside my window looked too melancholy, I would phone for some

small fact I needed, because the answering voice always sounded eager and willing. And it always worked. Enthusiasm came bouncing over the electronic circuit recharging my limp brain waves. So my thanks to that unseen genie who responded at the touch of a telephone dial.



About The Author

Elinor Richey's enduring fascination with the past and its strands to the present began with memorable childhood summers spent in a crumbling, haunted, three-story mansion built before the Civil War. She has focused searchingly upon many aspects and personalities of earlier eras in her articles for *American Heritage, American West, The New Yorker, Harper's,* etc.



From Oswald West State Park, on the south side of Neahkahnie Mountain, looking southeastward toward the community of Manzanita and the Coast Range. There are over four miles of trails in the park.

(Courtesy of the Oregon State Highway Commission)

THE ROAD OVER NEAHKAHNIE MOUNTAIN, OREGON: A CASE STUDY IN PACIFIC NORTHWEST TRANSPORTATIONAL HISTORY

BY

Robert Swartout, Jr.

Washington State University

I.

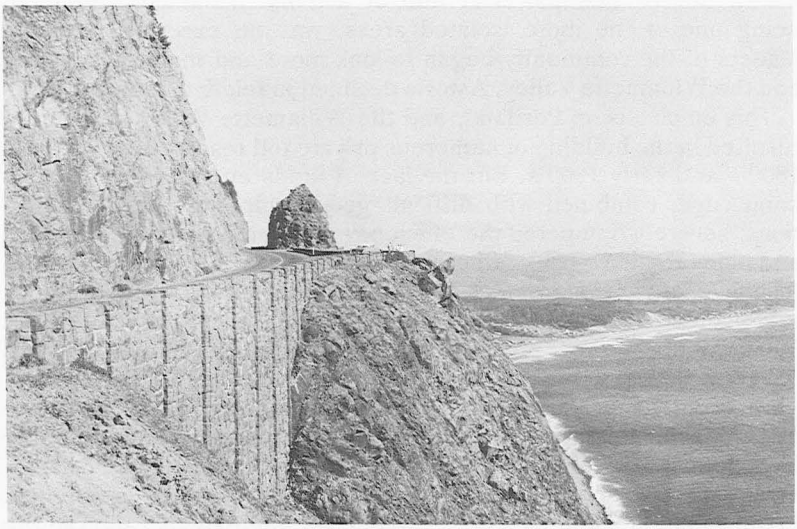
Along the north coast of Oregon lies Tillamook County, an area rich in sea, farm, and timber resources. Named after the Tillamook, or Killamook, Indians of that area, the county was formed in 1853, just two years after Joseph Champion became the region's first permanent white settler, and six years before Oregon became a state.[1] But despite the abundance of natural resources, the region grew very slowly. In 1860 the population of the county was only ninety-five, and by 1900 it had increased to just 4,471.[2] One of the major reasons for this lack of growth was the isolation of the area. The

backbone of the Coast Range, forming the eastern border of the county, cut off access to the Willamette Valley; while near the county's northern and southern boundaries, mountainous headlands stretched westward from the Coast Range to the sea.

The famous and majestic headland lying to the north, called Neahkahnie Mountain, is the focal point of this paper. The mountain's name was derived from a term used by the local Indians. Rising directly from the sea to a height of 1795 feet, it presented a constant challenge to the overland travelers from the north entering the Tillamook region.[3] Its immense size and ruggedness created the greatest barrier to transportation found anywhere along the 400 miles of Oregon coastline. Attempts to build a transportation route either over or around Neahkahnie Mountain, from the earliest pioneer days to the 1940's, exemplify the process of modernization that has taken place in the Pacific Northwest as a whole, and along the Oregon coast in particular.

The first settlers in the Tillamook area came not from the east or the south, but from the north. Astoria, and the surrounding Clatsop area, was the closest major population center. To the people of this latter region, the "greener pastures" of the Tillamook country could sometimes have a strong appeal.

The Indians had developed a tortuous trail over Neahkahnie. In August 1841, the John H. Frost party became possibly the first white



A southward view of the Neahkahnie Mountain Highway, showing some of the cliffs that had to be overcome while building the highway, and one of the numerous retaining walls made from stone found in the local area.

(Courtesy of the Oregon State Highway Commission)

people to traverse the mountain. Under great difficulty, Frost and his companions followed the Indian trail as far as possible, but at times they were forced to take detours away from the extremely dangerous cliffs that dropped nearly 700 feet to the ocean below.[5]

Frost did not remain long in the Tillamook country; he was just passing through on his way to the Willamette Valley. But other whites soon followed his trail. For many of these early pioneers, Neahkahnie was both the main gateway and the principal barrier into the new region, in that it was the closest route available and yet at the same time its ruggedness discouraged the weak-hearted. Once a community became established around Tillamook Bay in the central coast region, mail service was necessary. Like many of the original settlers, the mail came down from Astoria, and thus had to be carried either over or around Neahkahnie Mountain.[6] In this way the Neahkahnie route continued to play an important role in the life of the community. Nevertheless, the citizens of the mountain-locked area realized that more efficient links with the outside world had to be developed.[7]

By the early 1900's, two important interlocking factors had begun to decrease the necessity of relying on the hazardous route over Neahkahnie. The first was the rapid growth of Portland during the latter third of the nineteenth century. As Portland's population and economic strength grew, many of the state's other regions were drawn toward this powerful hub of activity. Tillamook, although being one of the more isolated areas, was no exception. As the leaders of the community began to look more and more to Portland and the Willamette Valley, Astoria declined in relative importance.

This emphasis on Portland, and the Willamette Valley in general, resulted in the building of numerous private toll roads during the late 1800's and early 1900's. But the lack of funds and limited technical knowledge, combined with difficult geographic and climatic conditions, severely hampered the efficiency and value of these early dirt and plank roads.[8] Thus rather than the first roads, it was a different technical advancement that eventually opened up the Tillamook region on a large scale for the first time. On November 1, 1911, the Pacific Railway and Navigation Company began scheduled runs between Portland and Tillamook city on the newly completed line. This second factor, the arrival of the railroad, "was truly a great step in the development of the county."[9] The economy of the county became more closely tied to the interior, and especially to Portland. While Tillamook products and resources could more easily be shipped to the population and industrial centers, the railroad also allowed the wealthier dwellers in the valley a chance to vacation at various ocean resorts. Numerous resorts such as Manhattan, Rockaway, Neskowin, Pacific City, and Barview sprang up following the arrival of the railroad.[10]

During the early years of the railroad's operation, it dominated the transportation network into Tillamook County. Many of the early toll roads, unable to compete, fell into complete disuse.[11] However, due to the isolation and relative unimportance of the region, rail service had come at a fairly late date when compared with many other areas. In just a few years, this railroad, like several railroads throughout the Northwest, was being threatened by new competition. This competition came from the simultaneous development of graded and paved highways and the rapid increase of private automobiles.

The 1920's saw a tremendous growth in both the size and quality of the highway network in Oregon. And Tillamook County was part of this. By September 1920, a state road (Highway 22), with a gravel and macdam surface, had reached southern Tillamook County by way of Sheridan, Dolph, and Hebo.[12] Although this meant a very long route to Portland, and did not dramatically affect the northern part of the county, it foreshadowed events to come. At the end of 1922 a similar road was completed from Astoria south to Tillamook city. The problem of Neahkahnie was overcome by diverting the road inland for several miles through a gap in the interior mountains, thereby passing through Necanicum (presently State Highway 53).[13] By 1930, major improvements had been added to both of these highways into Tillamook County.[14] As a result, the railroad's position began to decline; by the early thirties the network of roads dominated passenger traffic and increasingly controlled freight traffic as well.

The rapid rise in the number of automobiles in the twenties, along with improved road building techniques, stimulated a new interest in Neahkahnie Mountain. If a road could be built over the mountain, it would shorten the coastal highway by 5.65 miles, and cut the distance between Manzanita and Cannon Beach by eleven miles.[15] But even more important than this was the scenic beauty that such a road could offer to the growing influx of motor tourists. Many families vacationing by automobile for the first time hoped to find unique and exciting recreation areas. A coastal community's success, or lack of success, in attracting a large portion of these mobile vacationers could have a strong influence on the economic development of that community.

The value of Neahkahnie Mountain as a vacation area was recognized as early as 1910. In that year a booklet, entitled **Neah-kah-nie Mountain: The Most Beautiful Spot on the Pacific Coast,** was published for the Neahkahnie Mountain Land Company. The booklet proclaimed that with the coming of the railroad to Tillamook, "Neah-kah-nie Mountain will take its proper place as the peerless resort of the Oregon coast. Everything considered, it beats the world for the full enjoyment of every healthy, outdoor amusement."[16] Despite the importance of the railroad for the region, the claims and goals of the mountain's first resort developers did not come true. But their ideas were not forgotten.

Upon his arrival in north Tillamook County in 1911, Samuel G. Reed began to push for the actual building of a road over Neahkahnie, hoping that this would stimulate the development of the surrounding region. For the next thirty years, Reed was the driving force behind such a plan.[17] With the coming of the automobile culture in the 1920's, support for Reed's plan grew.

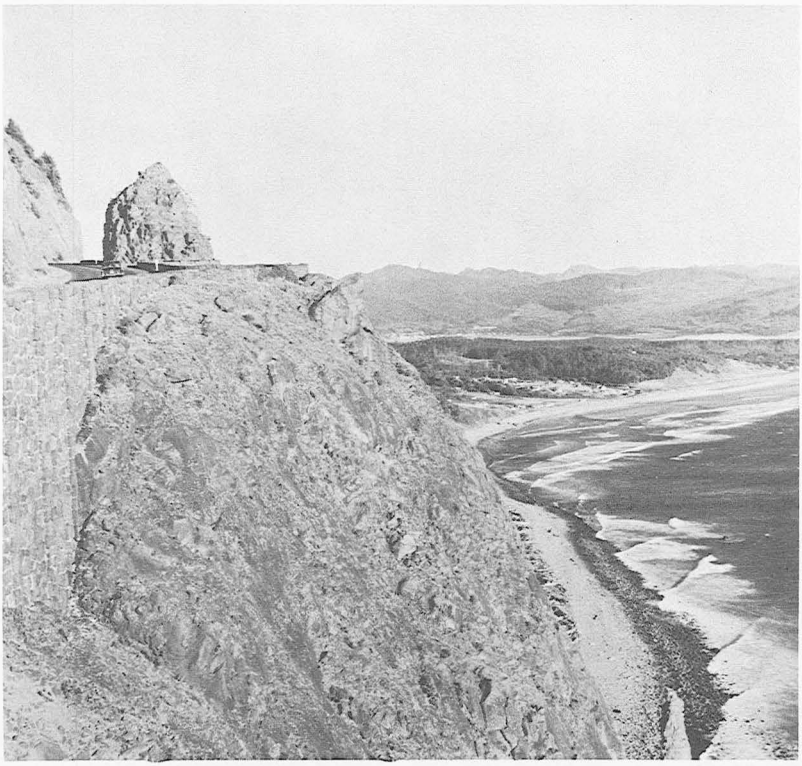
Like many projects at this time, this one was strictly a local operation. Working within his community, Reed was able to convince the county government of the necessity for a new road to the north. By the summer of 1926, work had begun under the auspices of Tillamook County.[18] On April 15, 1928, the **Oregonian** reported that "Mr. Reed, Frank Owens, county commissioner, and Fritz Beltz, county judge, have been instrumental in obtaining construction of this remarkable highway." So far, the county had spent $40,000 on the new road; it was hoped that construction would be completed by 1930.[19]

Unfortunately, the high aspirations of the county were not matched by sufficient financial or technical resources. By the early thirties, preliminary work on the road had come to a standstill, with the most difficult parts still ahead.

While the county efforts were proving to be inadequate, another important change was taking place in the developmental economics of the Northwest. More and more, the state government, through its highway commission, was financing and increasing the state's network of highways. In 1933 the commission decided to take over the Neahkahnie Mountain project. This decision coincided with a rapid increase in federal funds available for state highway development, funds that the Roosevelt administration hoped would partially relieve the depressed economic conditions of the thirties. Between 1933 and August 1941, when the road was finally completed, $1,378,000 was spent to build the highway.[20] This was a far cry from the amount of money that the county had been able to offer. As was the case with many other large industries in the Northwest, road building had reached a sophistication, especially over terrain as rugged as Neahkahnie, that called for major capital inputs. Since highway building was a public, rather than a private, concern, much of this capital had to come from state and federal governments that were large enough to gather and distribute such funds.

The new coastal highway covered a distance of fourteen miles, from Manzanita, just south of Neahkahnie, to Cannon Beach, one of the major resorts in Clatsop County. From Cannon Beach, the old highway continued on to Astoria.[21]

The entire fourteen miles of new road offered the motorist a pleasant, and at times breathtaking, drive. This included the 1300 foot long tunnel built through Arch Cape. But the highlight of the new road was the section across Neahkahnie, where large portions of the roadway had to be chiseled out of the almost vertical stone cliffs. The official state highway report commented:



The surf rolling in at Manzanita Beach below Neahkahnie Mountain. Portion of the highway completed in 1941 is on the far left.

(Courtesy of the Oregon State Highway Commission)

Along the side of historic Neahkahnie Mountian, for nearly two miles, the new highway traverses precipitous slopes several hundred (600) feet above the ocean and presents an outstanding example of modern construction performed in difficult terrain with due regard to the preservation of the natural beauty of the country. Of special interest on this section was the construction of natural rock facings on exposed structure surfaces, the use of native rock in protective walls, the providing of hard-surfaced footpaths and ... parking areas; all contributing to the general improvement, and enhancing the safety and pleasure of those who stop to enjoy the wonderful views afforded by the highway, as well as those who travel uninterruptedly upon its smooth, wide surface. [12]

People who, during the last thirty-four years, have had a chance to drive across this section of Highway 101 are forced to concur with the above remarks. Thanks to the techniques used to build the highway, and the continued natural setting, the traveler may still be awed by the majesty of the mountain, and can begin to understand the trauma that must have confronted the early pioneers who attempted to cross it on foot.

A northward view of the Oregon coast highway as it skirts along the western face of Neahkahnie Mountain. (Courtesy of the Oregon State Highway Commission)

The history of a transportation route over Neahkahnie Mountain can be separated into three periods, with each period representing some basic characteristics in the modernization of Tillamook County, and of the Northwest in general.

From 1851 until the late 1800's, Tillamook County was primarily a frontier community. As such, it was tied to the nearest trade center, Astoria, not by roads or by rails, but by trails. Reliance on a trail system made overland transportation to distant centers, such as Portland, very difficult. The close proximity of Astoria, even though a person had to traverse formidable Neahkahnie to get there, was important.

But by the late 1800's, things had begun to change. Efforts to build toll roads over the Coast Range and into the Willamette Valley, despite these roads' crudeness and unreliability, reflected the growing importance of the valley, especially the area in and around Portland. That city had become the commercial, industrial, and population center of the state. Like a magnet, it drew many of the resources of the rest of the state toward itself. The coming of the railroad to Tillamook City epitomized this growing connection between the county and Portland. While this was taking place, the importance of a transportation route northward over Neahkahnie gradually decreased.

A new period was introduced in the 1920's with the spread of the automobile and paved highways. The county still had many important ties with Portland, but now for the first time it was possible to bring large numbers of people, mostly as tourists, to the coastal regions. As the number of tourists increased, so too did the interest in scenic areas. And Neahkahnie Mountain was one of the most scenic in the state. This renewed interest in Neahkahnie later coincided with the increased government involvement in public works, including

highways, that marked the thirties. Together, these two forces worked to bring about the completion of an efficient and safe route over the mountain. This twentieth century highway, in turn, symbolized the integration of a once isolated regional area into a larger economic, financial, and communication network; a network that ties together the Pacific Northwest of today.

NOTES

1 Historical Records Survey, Oregon, **History, Governmental Organization, and Records System of Tillamook County, Oregon,** (Portland: Federal Works Agency, Works Project Administration, 1940), pp. 1, 9-11. Hereafter cited as **History of Tillamook County.**
2 **United States Census,** 1860, 1900.
3 Lewis A. McArthur, **Oregon Geographic Names,** 4th ed., revised and enlarged by Lewis L. McArthur (Portland: Oregon Historical Society, 1974), p. 530.
4 John H. Frost, "Journal of John H. Frost, 1840-1843," part 3, ed. by Nellie B. Pipes, **Oregon Historical Quarterly,** XXXV (Sept., 1934), 242. See also the **Oregonian,** July 4, 1926, sec. 7, p. 6.
5 Frost, "Journal of John H. Frost," 242-47. A fictional trip over Neahkahnie that closely parallels, and may have been based upon, Frost's account is found in Don Berry's **Trask** (New York: Ballantine Books, 1969), a book which the historian Dorothy O. Johansen has called the Northwest's "best novel." Although the specific incident in the book is fictitious, Berry accurately and beautifully captures the geographic wonders and dangers of the mountain, as well as its important symbolic role in Coastal Indian mythology. See pp. 22-23, 127- 140-62. A man by the name of Elbridge Trask actually did exist, and became one of the first pioneers to enter the Tillamook region; but he arrived there aboard a sloop, the "Quateratus," rather than coming over Neahkahnie. See Historical Records Survey, **History of Tillamook County,** p. 10; Jo Tuthill, "Elbridge Trask," in **The Mountain Men and the Fur Trade of the Far West,** 10 vols., ed. by LeRoy R. Hafen (Glendale, Calif.: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1965-72), IV, 378-80.
6 Ada M. Orcutt, **Tillamook: Land of Many Waters** (Portland: Binfords and Mort, 1951), pp. 105-08.
7 Historical Records Survey, **History of Tillamook County,** pp. 20-21.
8 Orcutt, **Tillamook: Land of Many Waters,** pp. 111-17.
8 **Ibid.,** pp. 117-18.
10 Historical Record Survey, **History of Tillamook County,** p. 17.
11 Orcutt, **Tillamook: Land of Many Waters,** p. 117.
12 Oregon State Highway Commission, **Biennial Report, 1919-1920** (Salem: State Printing Office, 1920), pp. 354-55.
13 Oregon State Highway Commission, **Biennial Report, 1921-1922** (Salem: State Printing Office, 1922, pp. 194-95.
14 Oregon State Highway Commission, **Biennial Report, 1929-1930.** (Salem: State Printing Office, 1930), p. 154.
15 Oregon State Highway Commission, **Biennial Report, 1941-1942** (Salem: State Printing Office, 1943), p. 47; the Oregonian, March 23, 1941, "Northwest Magazine," p. 4.
16 Lewis M. Head, **Neah-kah-nie Mountain: The Most Beautiful Spot on the Pacific Coast** (Portland: S.G. Reed, 1910), last page.
17 **Headlight-Herald,** July 24, 1941, p. 1. As fate would have it, Reed died just twelve days before the newly completed state highway was finally opened on August 3, 1941. However, Reed's contributions were at least partially recognized during his lifetime when, on August 29, 1938, the Neahkahnie Creek bridge which would comprise part of the new highway was dedicated and named in his honor. See

"News and Comment," **Oregon Historical Quarterly,** XXXIX (December, 1938), 440-41.

18 **Oregonian,** July 4, 1926, sec. 7, p. 6.

19 **Ibid.,** April 15, 1928, sec. 6, p. 2.

20 "Northwest Magazine," **Oregonian,** March 23, 1941, p. 4. During roughly the same period, a direct road from Portland to Tillamook city was finally completed along the Wilson River (State Highway 6). This highway cost $5,700,000 to build, much of which came from the federal government, and relied heavily on the Works Project Administration for labor. See the **Headlight-Herald,** October 14, 1941, pp. 1,10.

21 "Northwest Magazine," **Oregonian,** March 23, 1941, p. 4; **Headlight-Herald,** August 7, 1941, p. 1.

22 Oregon State Highway Commission, **Biennial Report, 1941-1942,** p. 47. See also Oregon State Highway Commission, **Biennial Report, 1939-1940** (Salem: State Printing Office, 1941), pp. 49-50; Oregon Secretary of State, **Oregon Blue Book, 1941-1942** (Salem: State Printing Office, 1942), p. 174.

During her vacation in July, your Editor did a study of the Western American influence in Western Europe. This store window advises the Parisian buyer to "go West".

LOOKS AT WESTERN BOOKS

Ernestine Smutny — Book Review Editor

THE INDIANS AMONG U S, a discussion by Arnold Marquis, Ruby Marquis and Lisbeth Eubank, with Vick Knight. (Los Angeles, Key Records, [P.O. Box 46128, LA 90046] 1976. Two cassette tapes, in portfolio, with a printed guide to the discussion topics. $20.00)

FUSS AND FEATHERS, music and songs recorded by John S. Candelario, commentary by James Atkinson. (Los Angeles, Key Records, 1976. Two cassette tapes, in portfolio, with numbered lists of song titles. $20.00)

These two sets, produced by Vick Knight (whose "Young John Steinbeck" was reviewed in the March 1976 **PACIFIC HISTORIAN**) complement each other - the first contains a discussion of the background and varied cultures of the peoples who settled the American continent and whom we commonly call Indians. Each of the participants has spent an impressive number of years in studying and working among the Indians - Mr. Marquis, for example, has directed documentaries for NBC, including "The Only Good Indian," and a second printing of his "Guide to America's Indians" has just been issued by the University of Oklahoma Press. The discussion is truly a "rap session," with each sharing his background and voicing ideas about the problems and potentials of the present as well as the accomplishments and heritage of the past.

"FUSS AND FEATHERS" was recorded on the reservation during the actual ceremonies, and the commentator describes each occasion and tells how the music or song relates to the ceremony. The selections range from war songs to lullabies, and, while there is an underlying unity of musical expression the variety and scope are impressive.

Several teachers and librarians listened to the tapes and played them for classes or groups. Most of these, all "Anglos" with a genuine and long-standing interest in our native peoples, found the material interesting and valid, but felt that students, especially younger students, enjoyed the tapes more when they were presented in small sections with back-up materials. They regretted the difficulty of finding good illustrative material to use with the tapes, and expressed a wish for color slides or filmstrips, especially of the dances. (There is a strong possibility that a multi-media kit will be issued; the **HISTORIAN** will report if it becomes available.) One librarian, who has studied anthropology at Stanford and worked on Hopi and Navajo reservations, declared that the recordings of Indian music were the clearest and best she had yet heard.

Mr. Dale Fleming, Chairman of the Native American Parent-Student Advisory Committee in Stockton, expressed what these tapes meant to some native Americans - the "Indians Among Us." While his notes are not in standard "book review language" I would like to share them as he wrote them.

> "Our Stockton, California, Native American Parent-Student Advisory Committee has had the privilege to preview and consider the taped series "Indians Among Us." We share a deep interest in and concern about Indian education and the methods of sharing our culture, and found very interesting the information presented in this series. We all felt that these tapes had a very valid use in sharing and teaching the culture, feelings, contributions, and the heritage of the Native American. We felt, as we listened, that these tapes contained much information that should have been shared long ago. Even for many of our Native Americans, much could be learned from these tapes. The feeling was that these instructional aids would be of more interest to older students and adults. Though the facts are very interesting, and the dialogue intriguing, many of the younger students wouldn't be able to hold their attention for as long as might be necessary.
>
> We definitely want to laud and encourage your desires to share this information and hope you continue in your efforts."

"Many of our Native American Parent-Student Advisory Committee of Stockton, California, have had the great privilege of savoring the tapes 'Fuss and Feathers.'

The greatest problem we had with the tapes is that they seemed to be habit forming. It was hard to get them back because they were so interesting, educating, and just plain enjoyable. So little cultural sharing is done in such a fine, upbuilding, enjoyable, and encouraging way. We felt that the many tapes of music and thought were presented in a fine way. These could do nothing less than cause one to awaken to the great similarities and differences within the Native American group, and how we can learn so much from their deep respect for natural things. The Horn Dance and others show clearly that we cannot stereotype Indian music, but that in the variety all can find enjoyable thoughts put to music, allowing us to share and savor these thoughts, allowing us to make these thoughts ours, and therefore, giving us the opportunity to in turn share these things."

What higher recommendation could we offer? **Ernestine Smutny, et al.**

EQUALITY ON THE OREGON FRONTIER: Jason Lee and the Methodist Mission 1834-43, by Robert J. Lowenberg. (Seattle, University of Washington Press, 1976. 287p., notes, bibliog., index. $17.50)

The title, **Equality on the Oregon Frontier,** gives only a fractional part of the message of this book. Jason Lee, Methodist minister, attended and in part directed the Americanization of Oregon, "an important part of American history." An early, but not the earliest immigrant, he went West to implement the hopes of the eastern Methodist Society for the Christianizing of the native Indians "as protection against oncoming unchristian white men from civilization." Success was very limited.

The book is very much an essay on themes in American history generally as encapsulated in Oregon's most rapid transition period from frontier to the birth of government. The path of Lee's difficulties with Methodists back home (East) generally and with the official Missionary Society in particular is well documented. The problems encountered with others in Oregon, notably the Hudson's Bay Company factor, the legendary John McLaughlin, are explored again in the light of Lee's difficulties with "administration."

The author worries about being revisionist in countering early-held evaluations of the supposed failure of Lee's mission to Oregon. Most historians for nearly a century have followed the lead of Frances Victor (Bancroft, **Works,** v. 29,30) in assuming the failure of Jason Lee's Methodist Mission because Lee returned to the East disillusioned and in part discredited, even while they affirm the Methodist stamp on the provisional government of 1843. Loewenberg stresses the point that Lee's insistant attempts at "Christianizing" before "civilizing" the natives were doomed to failure. So be it. This was the "equalizing" - but in a sense Lee was partly successful in that half-breeds were recognized as citizens in the provisional community - a point freighted with controversy.

This book is a good book. It has the characteristics of scholarly work, but tempered by sensitivity in the bringing to light many facts and documents previously overlooked. **Arthur W. Swann,** University of the Pacific.

SLAVERY ON THE SPANISH FRONTIER: The Colombian Choco, 1680-1810, by William Frederick Sharp. (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1976. 253p., sketch maps, bibliog., index. $9.95)

Slavery on the Spanish Frontier is most appropriately defined within the strict limits suggested by the sub-title "The Colombian Choco, 1680-1810," that is, as a straight forward monograph undoubtedly taken from the author's doctoral dissertation (although this is not so stated in the preface or on the flyleaf), very factual (the product of long and tedious research in Colombian and Spanish archives,) simple and straightforward in organization and methodology, and clear and precise in its conclusions.

What the book lacks is some fire - some sparkle - as a truly interesting study of one of the more unusual ventures in Spanish colonialism in a forbidding and isolated land. I began with great interest to read about this wild and torrid corner of the equatorial world - familiar with it not through travel but through knowing of its modern status as a backward corner of Colombia, and especially as having a climate that is exceptionally wet and sultry even by equatorial standards. Sharp alludes to this in his preface, on describing his first arrival at Quibdo to "step out into one of nature's sauna baths." Later in his introductory chapter we get a brief reference to the raininess and the rainfall totals in the Choco, 347 inches a year on the average at Quibdo, though "it rarely exceeds 8 inches in twenty-four hours." Since the rainfall this year will not reach 8 inches for the entire year at the place of publication of this journal, you may readily appreciate the exotic nature of this corner of the world: an exotic environment then, climatically, and also in terms of vegetation and soils - and an area of rugged landscapes, massive mountains and deep valleys. All in all an area of forbidding intractability in which only something as alluring as gold could create any colonial interest.

Somehow I feel that the author has lost the opportunity to present us with an insightful study in historical geography or environmental history in this remote and sweltering hole. Instead he has given proper respect to his thorough training as a historian toiling in the vineyards of the archives to tell us, once again, many things we already know about the philosophy, politics and economics of Spanish colonial America - that the high moral tone of the Church, the attitudes towards Indians and slaves, the precepts of the Laws of the Indies, the suffocating mercantilistic attempts to control trade and claim the governmental percentage, did not work as intended - and that the more remote you were from the secne of royal authority, the more you would get away with. It would have been astonishing to find things otherwise in the Choco, given its remote location and the ease with which gold is smuggled when compared with, say, furniture. The bulk of the work then confirms all of these features of the Spanish colonial policy almost to the point of tedium. In stressing this type of material, Sharp has confirmed with detailed original "facts" the shortcomings of the colonial system and swung a small left hook at Tannenbaum's thesis on the nature of Spanish slavery; but he has not, however, given us anything new and original, a natural limitation of his approach, whereas we might have had a more important and major work which dealt with the entire history of the development of the Choco, from 1680 to today, with its abundant environmental problems rightly placed to the fore. Instead, we have a monograph expanded from what is really the material for a long scholarly article. **Roger Barnett,** College of the Pacific, UOP.

GERONIMO: The Man, His Times, His Place, by Angie Debo. (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1976. 480p., illus., maps, notes, bibliog. The Civilization of the American Indian Series. $14.95)

GERONIMO! The name struck terror in many who passed through the Southwest in the late nineteenth century. With the exception of the Sioux chiefs, Sitting Bull and Crazy Horse, probably no other native American has caught the imagination of the American public as much as the Apache Geronimo. Debo's book is the latest biography of this famous personality and certinly one of the best. Roughly two-thirds of the narrative discusses the early raiding years prior to Geronimo's surrender on September 5, 1886. The unique aspect of this book is the last portion dealing with the confinement years of the Apaches as captives of the United States government; it is truly one of the tragic episodes in White-Indian relationships.

The easily flowing narrative adds to the strong appeal of the book. The text is well documented; Debo has gone beyond her predecessors in actually interviewing various decendants of the principal characters, and it is these interviews that make this story so fascinating. Unfortunately, the superb writing is not matched by the photographs. The visual organization of the volume is rather skimpy; most of the photos are the standard ones found in numerous books. The effort spent on the text did not extend to the selection of the pictures - a pity, since a little digging in various archives might have produced lost negatives of a vitally interesting event in America's history.

But any criticism aside, Geronimo is excellent reading and a must for any fan of the Southwest. Alas, the price of most books, including this one, is skyrocketing; the Debo title, however, is well worth the price. **Michael D. Seelye,** San Joaquin Delta College.

THE GOLD RUSH: LETTERS OF THOMAS S. MYRICK FROM CALIFORNIA TO THE JACKSON, MICHIGAN, AMERICAN CITIZEN, 1849-1855. (Mount Pleasant, Mich. The Cumming Press [465 Hiawaitha Drive], 1971. 117p., $7.50)

THE GOLD RUSH: LETTERS OF DAVID WOOSTER FROM CALIFORNIA TO THE ADRIAN MICHIGAN, EXPOSITOR, 1850-1855. (Mount Pleasant, The Cumming Press, 1972. 85p. $7.50)

THE GOLD RUSH: LETTERS FROM THE WOLVERINE RANGERS TO THE MARSHALL, MICHIGAN STATESMAN, 1849-1851. (Mount Pleasant, The Cumming Press, 1974. 154p. $10.00)

THE GOLD RUSH: LETTERS OF DR. JAMES DELAVAN FROM CALIFORNIA TO THE ADRIAN, MICHIGAN, EXPOSITOR, 1850-1856. (Mount Pleasant, The Cumming Press, 1976. 97p. $10.00)

These four monographs were produced in limited editions as the hobby activity of a rare books/historical collections librarian who sets type for his private press and does his own editing and publishing as well. Handsomely printed and bound, each is a compilation of eye-witness accounts of the California gold rush, primarily written in the form of letters to friends and relatives and originally published in Michigan newspapers. The writers were mostly professional men, some with considerable literary talent. James Delavan, a Jonesville physician, arrived in California via the Panama route early in 1849, served as a secretary, stock broker and superintendent of the Rocky Bar Mining Company, was a friend of Alonzo Delano and an acquaintance of Lola Montez in Grass Valley, and eventually drifted over the Sierras to Virginia City after his California prospects dimmed. Thomas S. Myrick was a Michigan school teacher who followed his brother to the mines in 1850. After a five-year sojourn as miner and correspondent to his hometown paper, he gave up fortune-hunting and found greater rewards as principal of a San Francisco school. Also a physician, David Wooster traveled overland to California in 1850 and made money selling beef to the miners before resuming his medical practice in 1855. A veteran of both the Mexican War and the Civil War, Wooster later rose to medical prominence in San Francisco as an author of medical texts. The bulk of the correspondence from the Wolverine Rangers was written by one of the company organizers, James Pratt, a newspaperman and former editor of the Marshall, Michigan, Statesman. He and his company partners reached California late in 1849 after a difficult overland trek complicated by a cholera epidemic and a shortage of grass which decimated the livestock and forced the company to detour via the longer and more difficult Lassen route.

Like other collections of gold rush writings, including the classic Dame Shirley letters and the journals of James Goldsborough Bruff, these monographs cover almost every facet of contemporary life, from hazards of weather and terrain on both the overland and Panama routes to hazards of a different sort in the hotels, restaurants and saloons of the mining camps - not to mention the ups and downs of mining itself. Wisely the editor has been very lighthanded with the text in an effort to retain the contemporary flavor, although a few explanatory footnotes and an index would have been helpful. On the whole these slim volumes are well worth the price - despite the profusion of gold rush narratives already in print. As a collection, the Mount Pleasant publications complement and extend the available literature. **Ronald Limbaugh,** College of the Pacific, U.O.P.

NATIVE CALIFORNIANS: A Theoretical Retrospective, edited by Lowell John Bean and Thomas C. Blackburn (Ramona, CA., Ballena Press, 1976. 453p., illus., tables, figures, bibliog., sources. paper $6.95)

There are probably few human groups who have been more intensively studied than the aboriginal populations of the area now known as California, from the Yurok of the northeast to the Yuma in the southwest. Yet, as the editors of this volume note, the sheer volume of the data seems to generate as many theoretical questions as it answers. New ethnographic and archeological materials are constantly being added to the already substantial base. Concurrently, new methodologies, techniques, and analytical frameworks are being applied not only to contemporary research but also to earlier records in an effort to either confirm or revise prior interpretations. Such work is difficult because from first white contact onward Indian society was placed under great stress, many bands and tribes being exterminated while others forceably or voluntarily coalesced into 'artificial' social groups.

Bean and Blackburn have chosen sixteen articles which address some of the broad, but fundamental, questions about Native American culture. All deal with areas in which there is an ongoing scholarly debate. In an effort to link and integrate the various articles the authors have chosen to concentrate on the cultural anthropology of the region, focusing generally on the "ethnographic present", a convention whereby pre-contact conditions are described without reference to subsequent events. The result is a kind of cultural 'snapshot' rather than a historical 'movie'. The articles cover such topics as ceremonial integration, kinship ties and political units, social organization and status differentiation, the rise of cultural complexity in a proto-agricultural economy, religious practices and attitudes, and adaptive responses to ecological settings.

It is clearly a 'sampler', meant for the more knowledgeable reader who already knows something about the complexity and diversity of early California Indian life. For the serious student of California Indians, it is a useful addition to the ever-growing number of collections on Native American culture and the nature of its prehistoric societies. For maximum benefit these articles should be read in conjunction with other excellent works such as Heizer and Whipple's **The California Indians**; the classic monographs of S. A. Barret, A. L. Kroeber, and E. W. Gifford; and the more recent works of S. F. Cook, J. H. Steward, R. Heizer, and that of the authors, Bean and Blackburn.

The production of the volume is competent with an especially readable typeface. The addition of an index would have been helpful and some biographical data on the authors would have been welcome, particularly where their article involved recent fieldwork as well as analysis of earlier data. For those who enjoy theoretical deduction over pure description, this is a good set of readings, one which will certainly give the reader something to think, or even argue, about, because almost all the contributions examine areas which should generate debate and alternative hypotheses for many years to come. In the long run, that may be the volume's greatest contribution.

Bruce La Brack Callison College-UOP

THE U.S. CAMEL CORPS: An Army Experiment, by Odie B. Faulk, (New York, Oxford University Press, 1976. 190p., illus., notes, bibliog., index. $9.75).

Contrary to what one might expect from the title, this is a fascinating tale centering around the short-lived and abortive attempt to introduce the Asian camel into the United States as a beast of burden to support the U.S. Army in the desert regions of our southwest. The experiment began in 1855 when Congress appropriated $20,000 to fund the importation of camels from Asia, and it ended ingloriously when the last of the herd was sold at auction in March 1866 for thirty-one dollars a head. In the interim the camels served both the United States and Confederate armies, the herd having passed to rebel control when Texas seceded from the Union. Nonplused by their acquisition, the Confederates never made use of the animals. "They were like a wart on a stick. We had them and couldn't get rid of them." Sterling Price, a Confederate general from Texas, much more enterprising than his confreres, used one of the beasts to transport

his baggage through the Civil War campaigns.

The camel turned out to be, in American eyes, a foul-smelling and contrary animal. U.S. soldiers assigned to duty with the Camel Corps, oriented as they were to the members of the equine species, detested the beasts, and no good rapport was ever established between American drovers and their immigrant charges in spite of the camel's splendid record as a beast of burden on our deserts.

Many colorful characters, American and foreign, were associated with the Camel Corps during its short existence. Hadji Ali (Hi Jolly), a Syrian drover imported with the camels, made a name as a competent and loyal member of the Corps. A monument to him stands in Arizona. A Turkish drover named Elias later emigrated to Mexico where he became a rancher. His son Plutarcho Elias Calles became the president of Mexico.

In spite of high praise from those who evaluated the performance of the Camel Corps, Americans did not accept the camel and technology soon overtook any incentive to do so. The camel remained a curiosity in America though abandoned camels persisted in a feral state for many years, in spite of every abuse. Some may be out there yet! The U.S. Camel Corps tells their story and the story of the men connected with the Corps beautifully. A profusion of excellent illustrations heightens interest further. **Leonard Humphrey,** Callison College-UOP

THE CALIFORNIA OF GEORGE GORDON AND THE 1849 SEA VOYAGES OF HIS CALIFORNIA ASSOCIATION(A San Francisco Pioneer Rescued From the Legend of Gertrude Atherton's First Novel, by Albert Shumate, with Forward by Richard H. Dillon. (Glendale, The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1976. 271p., photographs, index, $9.50)

Known as George Cummings in his native England, the subject of this study came to the United States as George Gordon and quickly organized a company to transport emigrants from the Eastern seaboard to the gold fields of California. Once in San Francisco, he made a minor fortune from real estate speculation, a lucrative lumber business, and a sugar refinery. He became a civic leader, many times influencing the course of the booming town. For example, he created and financed South Park, making him one of the earliest, if not the first, to consciously attempt planning in urban development.

The deaths of Gordon, his wife and daughter left the estate without an heir, although Gordon's son-in-law, whom Gordon disliked, tried to claim the inheritance. The tragically swift extinction of the Gordon family led to rumors and myths that inspired a novel based on Gordon's life, which, in turn, led to the present work. The result is an almost step-by-step account of the search for the real story. In true detective fashion, the author unravels the account of Gordon's life, and of necessity the times of early San Francisco. Through Gordon, the reader is introduced to many events and people. Such introductions will stimulate the curiosity of many. On occasion, however, this creates a problem, for it is not clear from where some information came, since the author did not document his narrative. Instead, he attempts to integrate footnote material with the narrative, and although the reader is left with a general impression of the author's sources, the omitted particulars needlessly create doubt about the story's veracity.

The author is a long time expert on the history of California, especially the Bay area. Many of his colleagues and friends will be anxious to read his work, for it covers years critical to the development of San Francisco (1850-1880). They will not be disappointed, for the past President of the California Historical Society has replaced myth with fact and, in the process, contributed to the history of San Francisco's urban development, perhaps establishing the "Bay City" as the first major American city to have consciously created an exclusive neighborhood. In all, this book is a well-written and valuable contribution to the area's local history. **Thomas E. Chavez** - University of New Mexico

Notes From The Book Editor

THE NEWSPAPER PRESS IN NEW SOUTH WALES, 1803-1920, by R.B. Walker. (Sydney, Sydney University Press, distributed by ISBS, Forest Grove, OR, 1976. 272p. facsims, bibliographic notes, index. $15.00)

Newspapers are truly a window to the past, and, human nature being what it is, one never knows what the view will include! Walker has provided a montage history which gives a lively and colorful account of the press in New South Wales from its beginning to the end of World War I. Newspapermen are generally a special breed and Walker does them full justice. He is also master of the trenchant and terse - **e.g.,** describing the hunger of the colonials for the news brought by incoming vessels he writes: "In these circumstances readers gorged like a boa constrictor on one good feed and then fasted for weeks until the next repast was offered and swallowed whole."

It is easy to devour the rest of his text just as rapidly!

AGRICULTURAL LITERATURE: PROUD HERITAGE - FUTURE PROMISE, a Bicentennial Symposium September 24-26, 1975. Edited by Alan Fusonie and Leila Moran, sponsored by the Agricultural History Society [et al.] (Washington, D.C., Associates of the National Agricultural Library and the Graduate School Press, U.S. Dept. of Agriculture, 1977. 381p., illus., facsims., bibliog., notes, index. $13.50, paper $9.95)

Twenty-six essay/lectures highlight the immense body of agricultural literature which the United States - "one of the most agriculturally productive nations in the world" - has generated from its earliest days, pointing to the varied benefits of this rich heritage.

TANNIK SCHOOL: The Impact of Education on the Eskimos of Anaktuvuk Pass, by Michael S. Cline. (Anchorage, Alaska Methodist University Press, 1975. 210p., illus., sketch map, bibliog., index, $10.00, paper $6.00)

Many illustrations of the people and their homes and everyday pursuits enliven Cline's anthropologist/teacher approach to his subject. He discusses the development of the Nunamiut village, the establishment of a *Tannik* (white) school and its effect on the lives of both children and adults, closing with an intriguing look at a future controlled to a greater extent by the Eskimos themselves.

CHANGE, AND OTHER SHORT STORIES ABOUT CONTEMPORARY ALASKA, by Charles J. Keim. (Anchorage, Methodist University Press, 1976. 138p., illus. $10.00, paper $6.00)

These stories about our largest state catch the spirit of that vast land of superlatives and contrasts, marking the changes that have come since the days of Service and London.

THE RESPECTABLE SYDNEY MERCHANT: A.B. Spark of Tempe, by Graham Abbott and Geoffrey Little. (Sydney, Sydney University Press, distributed by ISBS, Forest Grove, OR, 1976. 262p., illus., ports., facsims, appendix, notes, index. $18.50)

The colonial diaries of an intelligent and perceptive Scotsman give an intimate and revealing picture of the commerical and social development of Sydney before and after the disasterous financial crash which cost him position and wealth in 1843.

CONVICTS IN THE COLONIES; A Study of Penal Transportation from Great Britain and Ireland to Australia and Other Parts of the British Empire, by A.G.L. Shaw (Carleton, Melbourne University Press, distributed by ISBS, Forest Grove, OR, 1977. 399p., tables, notes, appendix, bibliog., index. paper, $9.95)

Although a number of "lewd and dangerous persons" were sent to the American colonies "both to deter criminals and to supply the colonies with labor," the 1775 revolt forced England to substitute another destination for its exiles. Shaw's study, reprinted from the 1966 edition, is a comprehensive survey of the rise and decline of this mode of criminal justice.

THE WRITINGS OF FRANCISCO GARCIA DIEGO Y MORENO, Obispo de Ambas Californias, Translated and Edited by Msgr. Francis J. Weber. (Los Angeles, distributed by Dawson's Book Shop, 1976. 192p., ports., notes, index of proper names. $15.00)

Garcia Diego was named as the first biship of the newly created diocese of the Californias in 1840, a move which the ecclesiastical authorities hoped would solve some of the more pressing problems confronting the remnants of the missions. The documents Fr. Weber has so assiduously collected and faithfully translated, together with his extensively footnoted life of the bishop, mirror the petty details and frustrating inadequacies of finance and support which undoubtedly sapped Garcia Diego's strength and nullified his efforts. The old order was rapidly passing; these letters and documents help to clarify a confused period in California's Catholic history as well as honoring a good and worthy man who struggled against impossible odds.

THE POLITICS OF BUSINESS IN CALIFORNIA, 1890 - 1920, by Mansel G. Blackford. (Columbus, Ohio State University Press, 1977. 221p., tables, notes, bibliog., index. $12.50)

Blackford examines the three most important productive businesses in California at the turn of the century (agriculture, oil and lumber) three important supportive activities (banking, investment banking and insurance) and two major issues (state regulation of railroads and public utilities and tax reform movements). This study, expanded from a dissertation, shows how businessmen restructured in order to meet the challenge of industrialization and the increasing extent to which they used political action to press for their objectives.

THE CALIFORNIA HERITAGE COOKBOOK, (compiled by) The Junior League of Pasadena, Illustrated by Genevieve Molloy Wilson. (Garden City, Doubleday & Company, 1976., illus., index. $9.95)

The League members have chosen a different section of the cuisine for the different areas of the state - hors d'oeuvres from Monterey, seafood from San Francisco, and so on - and for each prepared an introduction showing how its history and geography shaped its personality and food.

Handsomely printed and bound, this volume will be a treasured addition for either the California or cookbook collector.

TRAVELS OF J.H. WILBUR; Journal Written From September 27, 1846 to January 25, 1848 from New York around Cape Horn to the Oregon Institute and the onset of his Methodist Mission work in Oregon Territory, by James Harvey Wilbur. Gertrude Wiencke Johnson, Editor. (Salem, Friends of the Library, Willamette University, 1975. 159p., illus., ports., facsims., notes, bibliog. paper, $)

The title page indicates the scope of the Journal, but it does not reflect the remarkable devotion and selfless life of a man who exemplified the highest ideals professed by church or state. Mrs. Johnson has added a comprehensive biographical sketch which documents the many achievements and lasting influence of Wilbur's ministry.

WITH NATURE'S CHILDREN: Emma B. Freeman (1880-1928) - Camera and Brush, by Peter E. Palmquist. (Eureka, Interface California Corporation, 1976. 134p., illus., ports., bibliog. paper, $9.95)

Palmquist, a photographer in his own right and a collector of regional photographs (see **Fine California Views, PACIFIC HISTORIAN, Mar. 1976**) has rediscovered and restored to history a fascinating woman photographer. Emma B. Freeman was once widely acclaimed both for her romantic and artistic portraits of Northern California Indians and for her daring pictures of the grounded U.S. cruiser **Milwaukee.** An anomaly in the male-dominated small world of Eureka, Freeman succeeded in establishing herself as an astute businesswoman and an inventive craftsman, as well as "an artist with a camera" much in demand for portraits. Palmquist concentrates on her imaginative Indian portraits (unfortunately only one is reproduced in color), but he gives a brief summary of her flamboyant career and untimely death.

PHOTOGRAPHER OF A FRONTIER: The Photographs of Peter Britt, by Alan Clark Miller. (Eureka, Interface California Corporation, 1976. 107p., illus., ports. $18.95)

From nearly 8000 negatives and additional thousands of prints Miller has selected seventy portraits and views to show Britt's rare photographic ability and his artistic skill. Coming to Southern Oregon in 1852, the 33-year old Britt chose Jacksonville as his home, and for the next 53 years recorded its scenes and people in amazingly complete detail. A painter who turned to photography, Britt's many talents included the planting of the first orchard and vineyard of the region. His home and spacious grounds were a veritable tropical park and he served as "personal banker" and local meteorologist. His most lasting achievement, however, is the unique record of the birth and growth of a frontier town, recorded in images which themselves reflect the birth and development of the art of photography.

SMALL WORLD VEGETABLE GARDENING: Growing Your Own in Limited Spaces, by John E. Bryan. Drawings by Cathy Greene. (San Francisco, 101 Productions, 1977. 192p., illus., index. paper, $4.95)

FABULOUS FIBER COOKBOOK; Foods High in Dietary Fiber, Low in Calories, and Completely Natural, by Jeanne Jones. Preface by Kenneth W. Heaton, M.D., Drawings by Cathy Greene. (San Francisco, 101 Productins, 1977. 192p., illus., index. paper $4.95)

The first of these attractive and timely new books from 101 will tell you how to plan and rotate crops in a small area, while the second offers many intriguing recipes for cooking the "natural" foods you grow or buy in ways that preserve or increase the vital fiber content. These good foods can't help being good for you!

COLLECTION, USE, AND CARE OF HISTORICAL PHOTOGRAPHS, by Robert A. Weinstein and Larry Booth. (Nashville, American Association for State and Local History, 1977. 222p., illus., appendices, bibliog., index. $16.00)

The title is rather pedestrian, but the text behind the cover can be read (and the numerous illustrative photographs examined) for sheer pleasure and general knowledge as well as for specific help in establishing and caring for a collection of historical photographs. The highly technical information of the later pages will hold the attention of those who need its expert help; the rest of us can benefit from the more general aids and delight in the magnificent reproductions. Any individual, society or institution with a photographic collection should consider this book a must.

THE AMERICAN TOUCH IN MICRONESIA, by David Nevin. (New York, W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1977. 224p., sketch map., index. $9.95)

The cover bears a sub-title: "A story of power, money, and the corruption of a Pacific paradise," which summarizes the danger Nevin sees from the casual attitude the U.S. has displayed toward this huge trust territory. He warns that transplanting a weak and unsuitable educational system, a top-heavy bureaucracy and millions of dollars worth of goods to an area with pitifully few natural resources and little understanding of a technological society has resulted in an explosive combination of unrealistically high expectations and an unwillingness to compromise or balance new values with the old.

THIRTEEN YEARS OF TRAVEL AND EXPLORATION IN ALASKA, 1877-1889, by W. H. Pierce. Edited and Updated by R. N. DeArmond (Anchorage, Alaska Northwest Publishing Company. 1977. 105p., illus. paper. $3.95)

This journal tells what must have been the fate of many an Alaska prospector - years of hard work and stubborn endurance brought not wealth, but broken health and an early grave. Pierce's brief account is remarkable for the observations he makes about the potential of the vast land and for his shrewd, though clearly prejudiced, remarks about both natives and newcomers. Except for the new explanatory notes and supplementary information this edition reproduces the 1890 text and illustrations.

RADICAL COUSINS: Nineteenth Century American & Australian Writers, by Joseph Jones, (St. Lucia, University of Queensland Press [405 S. Union St., Lawrence, MA], 1976. 132p., bibliog., index. $14.25)

Jones traces the "nature and extent of literary contacts" between the United States and Australia which show the growth of radical thought before 1900. The works of Emerson and the Transcendentalists, Thoreau and Whitman influenced the developing socio-political thought of many Australians.

THE INDIANS OF CONTRA COSTA COUNTY: The Costanoan and Yokuts Indians, by Charles A. Bohakel. (Antioch, The Author, [Box 8173] 1977. 40p., illus., sketch maps, bibliog. paper, $2.50)

Not too much is known about the life and culture of the Costanoan and Yokuts Indians, the two chief tribes of Contra Costa County. Bohakel, author of **"A Pictorial Guidebook to Mount Diablo" (PACIFIC HISTORIAN, Summer, 1976)** has attempted to summarize the known facts and present them in non-technical language.

LEWIS AND CLARK: Voyage of Discovery. Photography by David Muench, Text by Dan Murphy, Edited by Gweneth DenDooven; Book Design by K.C. DenDooven. (Las Vegas, K.C. Publications [Box 14883] 1977. 64p., col. illus. $7.95, paper $3.00)

Photographs of compelling beauty illumine quotations from the Lewis and Clark diaries and Murphy's perceptively condensed narrative of the trials and triumphs of the famous expedition. Over half the book is pictures; the large scenic views are balanced by delightful small snaps of a flower, an animal, or a landscape detail. The pictures are matched to the season of the year and so well are they matched to the text that it is almost impossible to stop reading and looking until the last page has been turned.

CAPTIVITY OF THE OATMAN GIRLS: Being an Interesting Narrative of Life Among the Apache and Mohave Indians... by R.B. Stratton (Los Angeles, Triumph Press. 1976. 290p., illus., ports. $7.95, paper $4.95)

The saga of the Oatmans is one of the best known of the Indian Captivities. This facsimile reprint of the 1859 edition includes the prefaces of the three earlier editions and the original illustrations, and will be useful as a circulating copy for libraries which have the original. (Incidentally, the footnote added before the **Conclusion** indicates that the Oatmans attended school for about six months "in Santa Clara Valley, Calif." Olive Oatman's name is recorded in the catalog of the University of the Pacific for 1857/58 as a student in the "female division.")

MUSTANG: Life and Legends of Nevada's Wild Horses, by Anthony Amaral, with Illustrations by Craig Sheppard. (Reno, University of Nevada Press, 1977. 156p., illus., bibliog., notes. $9.00)

Amaral, a recognized authority on horses and horsemanship, has traced the story of the wild horse of the West from the Spanish conquistadors to the airplane roundup. Alternately captured for use in good times and released to fend for himself in bad, the horse multiplied at such a phenomenal rate that it threatened the survival of the available range. Amaral focuses his narrative in Nevada, one of the last refuges of the wild horse today, describing blood lines and relating many legendary tales of magnificent and cunning stallions and the Mustangers who sought their capture for glory or profit. Now, after a massive extermination program, the federal government has finally undertaken a program of protection which will at least ensure the survival of this symbol of freedom and power.

THE COYOTE, Defiant Songdog of the West, by Francois Leydet. Illustrations by Lewis E. Jones. (San Francisco, Chronicle Books, 1977. 222p., illus., appendices, bibliog. $7.95)

Man seems to be the only predator unwilling to allow other predators to live, and nowhere has this urge to exterminate been more evident than in the West, where bear and bobcat, eagle and coyote have been slaughtered and maligned. Leydet offers no easy solution to the problem posed by the conflict between the rancher and the conservationist, but he tries to present all the evidence fairly for the reader to judge. This reader, at any rate, felt there was much to be said for the coyote and that man should perhaps worry more about controlling his **own** population.

MOUNT RUSHMORE; The Story Behind the Scenery, by Lincoln Borglum with Gweneth Reed DenDooven. Book Design by K.C. DenDooven. (Las Vegas, K.C. Publications [Box 14883], 1977. 48p., col. illus. $5.50, paper $2.00)

Here is the absorbing story of how America's most famous sculpture was carved from the Black Hills of South Dakota. Lincoln Borglum, son of the man who conceived the noble design, here tells of the years he and his father spent on the work, the financial problems (which have left the figures incomplete) and the logistical difficulties involved in such an enormous task. The faces are 60 feet long, yet from any angle they are natural and lifelike. There have been many words written about Mount Rushmore, but none can have the impact of this story behind the story, told in the words of the two men responsible for its transformation.

HELLDORADOS, GHOSTS AND CAMPS OF THE OLD SOUTHWEST, by Norman D. Weis. Photographs and maps by the author. (Caldwell, Idaho, Caxton Printers, 1977. 365p., illus., maps, bibliog., index $9.95)

Weis has distilled the best of his travels through six states of the Old Southwest, describing sixty-seven ghost towns with well-chosen words and excellent photographs. Sketch maps show the areas and the route to the towns, while reproductions of USGS topographic quadrangles are used to demonstrate how the author "prospects" for likely sites. Research in the appropriate libraries and chats with local inhabitants add substance and color to this collection, a fitting companion volume to his earlier **"Ghost Towns of the Northwest" (PACIFIC HISTORIAN, Fall, 1975.)**

HISTORIC COUNTRY INNS OF CALIFORNIA, by Jim Crain. (San Francisco, Chronicle Books, 1977. 205p., illus., sketch maps, paper, $4.95)

For a vacation with a difference you might try a leisurely tour with visits to some of the old country inns which still dot the highways and, more usually, the byways of our state. Crain describes sixty-four of these charming and historic structures, some of which no longer offer both rooms **and** meals. Complete information is given to help you locate the inn, along with phone numbers, hours of service and an indication of price range.

MINES OF THE MOJAVE, by Ronald Dean Miller and Peggy Jeanne Miller. (Glendale, CA, La Siesta Press (Box 406), 1976. 71p., illus., sketch maps, bibliog., index. paper, $2.50)

Although the Millers intend their book to be primarily a guide for residents or visitors who wish to visit nearby mining sites, almost everyone will enjoy the well-written, fast-moving, and information-packed text.

THE JEWEL OF THE MISSIONS: A Documentary History of San Juan Capistrano, compiled and edited by Msgr. Francis J. Weber. (Los Angeles, distributed by the Chancery Archives, 1976. 223p., bibliog. $10.00)

Msgr. Weber, tireless in the pursuit of interesting Catholic Californiana, has brought together sixty-one excerpts dating from 1775 to 1975 which trace the Mission of San Juan Capistrano from its inception to its bicentennial. The excerpts are well-chosen and full of interest; the addition of a few illustrations would have given substance to the picture outlined by the text.

HISTORIC GLIMPSES OF TREES OF THE WEST; a Journey with Lambert Florin. (Seattle, Superior Publishing Company, 1977. 192 p., chiefly illus., bibliog., index. $13.95)

Not a book to answer the perennial inquiry of "what tree is that" nor yet an attempt to highlight only **famous** trees, **Historic Glimpses** is a loving collection of beautiful, unusual, historic or just plain interesting specimens from all over the West. Florin has stories to tell which add life and color to the outstanding photographs.

TOUR GUIDE TO THE OLD WEST, by Alice Cromie. (New York, Quadrangle/ The New York Times Book Co., 1977. 464p., illus., sketch maps. $12.50)

To cover the historic sites and anecdotes of nineteen states in 464 pages is a Herculean task, and it is obvious that Cromie has not covered every place that natives

would deem worthy of mention. For example, no site in San Joaquin County is mentioned, although certainly Weber had a greater impact on California history than did Marsh, and Stockton has a museum at least as fine as does Modesto.

The pages devoted to each state vary from 12 (Utah) to 47 (Texas). The entries, arranged alphabetically, are lively and well-written, including historic and current information and occasional contemporary quotations.

It is unfortunate that there is no index, for if you want to look up a quote or a fact you must remember the state and entry to find it again.

THE STABILIZATION OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN NEW SOUTH WALES 1858-1906, by F.A. Larcombe, Volume 2 of **A History of Local Government in New South Wales.** (Sydney, Sydney University Press (distributed by ISBS, Box 555 Forest Grove, OR) 1976. 339p., notes, tables, appendices, bibliog., index. $25.00)

This second volume of the three projected describes in considerable detail the maturation of governmental structures and the recognition of their shortcomings.

PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SELF IN JAPAN AND THE UNITED STATES: Communicative Styles of Two Cultures, by Dean C. Barnlund. (Tokyo, The Simul Press, 1975. 201p., references, appendices. paper, $12.00)

INTERCULTURAL ENCOUNTERS WITH JAPAN: Communication - Contact and Conflict. Perspectives from the International Conference on Communication Across Cultures held at International Christian University in Tokyo, edited by John C. Condon and Mitsuko Saito. (Tokyo, The Simul Press, 1974. 259p. $11.95)

These fascinating studies of interpersonal communications highlight the differences in not only language but "body-language," value systems and even patterns of reasoning, which complicate or prevent true exchange of meaning. The highly individualized "Big I" of Western culture has made the Americans especially blind to the nuances of other cultures in spite of the great diversity of our heritage.

THE EXPEDITION OF CAPT. J.W. DAVIDSON FROM FORT TEJON TO THE OWENS VALLEY IN 1859, edited by Philip J. Wilke and Harry W. Lawton. (Socorro, N.M., Ballena Press, [P.O. Box 1366] Ballena Press Publications in Archaeology, Ethnology and History No. 8, 1976. 55p., illus., sketch map, facsims., notes, bibliog. paper, $4.95)

This latest offering from Ballena gives the background (and results) of the earliest detailed account of the Owens Valley and its inhabitants. Suspected of livestock theft, the Indians were pronounced innocent and peaceable by the government investigators, but so attractive did their heretofore isolated valley appear in the report that within a few years the Indians were effectively dispossessed.

Like other numbers of the series (e.g., see **Pacific Historian,** Spring, '77), the Davidson **Expedition** is attractively printed with copious explanatory notes. The cream-colored paper enhances the type but may be responsible for much loss of detail in the overly dark reproduction of the photographs.

THE OVERLAND MAIL, by LeRoy R. Hafen, (Lawrence, Mass., Quarterman Publications (550 Union St.) 1976. 361p., ports., facsims., maps on lining papers, notes, index. $25.00)

The Overland Mail, "Promoter of Settlement, Precursor of Railroads," has been widely acclaimed from its 1926 publication by Clark. This handsome facsimile edition, which adds a portrait of Hafen and a brief new introduction by him, will make this valuable research once again widely available.

A BOY'S BOOK OF BEAR STORIES (NOT FOR BOYS): A Grizzly Introduction to the Santa Ana Mountains, by Jim Sleeper. (Trabuco Canyon, California Classics, [Box 291] 1976. 240p., illus., maps, notes, index. $11.00 postpaid)

In this rollicking saga of bear stories Sleeper combines his indefatigable interest in Orange County history with his unfailing appreciation of the ridiculous.

Described by the author as the first of "an epic, six-part history of the Santa Ana Mountains," it describes in the graphic detail of legend (tempered with carefully researched facts) the catastrophic effect of encroaching "civilization" on the once mighty grizzly. Maybe, just maybe, a few black or brown bears **may** have survived, but the less said, the better their chances for continued survival.

THE BRADSHAW TRAIL, by Francis J. Johnston. Edited by John R. Brumgardt and Tom Patterson. (Riverside, Historical Commission Press [5192 Mission Blvd., Rubidoux, 92509] 1976. 215p., illus., fold. map., notes, bibliog., index. paper, $6.25 postpaid.)

Although filled with fascinating details of a little-known man who played a flamboyant part in California-Arizona history from pre-gold rush days to 1864, the **Bradshaw Trail** concentrates on the story of the various trails, Indian and Spanish/Mexican, which wove their sinuous ways through the forbidding deserts and mountains of the great Southwest. As its title indicates, the emphasis is on the Bradshaw Trail (named for the remarkable man who first learned it from the Indians) and its importance in opening the way to the West through Arizona.

This third title from the Riverside County Historical Commission Press is attractively printed, and hopefully a later printing will remove the occasional typographical errors.

THE DOMINGUEZ-ESCALANTE JOURNAL: Their Expedition Through Colorado, Utah, Arizona and New Mexico in 1776. Translated by Fray Angelico Chavez, Edited by Ted Warner. (Provo, Brigham Young University Press. Published in conjunction with grants from the Utah American Revolution Bicentennial Commission and the Colorado Centennial-Bicentennial Commission, 1976. 203p., illus., map, facsims., glossary, bibliog. $12.95.)

The goals of the **Dominguez-Escalante** expedition were two-fold — to discover an overland route from Santa Fe to Monterey and to explore new mission possibilities along the way. So enthusiastically did the Fathers pursue the latter option that they tarried too long among the friendly Indians and were forced by a severe winter to turn back to Santa Fe far short of their goal.

This journal of their odyssey - over 159 days of travel during which they covered over 1700 miles in a large irregular loop through the Four Corners area - has been freshly and expertly translated from the most authoritative manuscripts and supplied with helpful annotations. Their trek formed the basis of the Spanish claim to the area - had Spain sent settlers as well the history of the Southwest might have been far different.

A few copies of the Jack London Special Issues are still available. Please write Mrs. Frizzel c/o The Pacific Center, U.O.P., Stockton, California 95211.